EARLY BODLEIAN MUSIC

Volume III

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF SOME OF

The Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts

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EDWARD WILLIAMS BYRON NICHOLSON, M.A.

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PREFACE

THIS volume is the complement to the splendid collection of 'Early Bodleian Music' produced by the late Sir John Stainer, with the assistance of his son Mr. J. F. R. Stainer, his daughter Miss C. Stainer, and myself.

The nucleus of it was prepared as part of my palaeographical introduction to 'Sacred and Secular Songs . . . from about A.D. 1185 to about A.D. 1505'. But all the MSS. referred to in it are written in that earlier form of musical notation, known as 'neums'[1], from which the later mediaeval system was evolved. And for reasons stated in the introduction in question it was decided to omit all that I had written on these earlier MSS. and to publish it separately when finished. Sir John Stainer had offered to take the responsibility of such publication, and, although his death altered the circumstances, Mr. J. F. R. Stainer proposed with a like generosity to continue this arrangement.

The number of Bodleian MSS. earlier than the 12th cent. which contain neums—sometimes throughout, sometimes only a few notes jotted down on a margin or fly-leaf—is very large. To deal with them exhaustively would not only claim a far greater amount of time than I can possibly give, but would call for that power of reading the notation, and that acquaintance with the history of the liturgical melodies, which I do not possess and have not leisure to acquire. All that the present work proposes to do is to give the needful amount of palaeographical information regarding the most important examples of neum-writing, up to the end of the 11th cent., which I know of in the Bodleian, and regarding also such 12th cent. examples written in England as supply links in the history of English notation. Only the very few who have attempted similar work have any idea of the time which it takes, and I fear to guess how many weeks, or rather months, MS. Bodley 775 alone has cost me. Other demands on me have stopped me altogether for very long intervals—sometimes for 18 months at a stretch, and the further I allowed myself to be allured along the fascinating path of discovery the more distant became the prospect of completing my task. So that, both in the interest of students and to diminish a far too heavy mental burden of unfinished work, I have been compelled to send forth this Introduction as it stands[2]. But anyone wanting to study early liturgical music will find skeleton-notices of other Bodleian MSS. in the Rev. Walter Howard Frere's *Bibliotheca Musico-liturgica*, and I should be happy to put before him all my own notes of such MSS.

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[1] More correctly *pneums*, a name derived from the Greek *pneuma* 'breath', adopted into Latin and used to describe sacred song—perhaps from the practice of sustaining the breath so as to prolong a syllable on a succession of notes: see Ducange's *Glossarium*. Thus in the statutes of Peter the Venerable, abbat of Cluny, who died in 1156, we read of the 'Pneuma quod in fine antiphonarum canitur'. Indeed, the final syllable of 'Alleluia' came to be sustained on successions of notes (called *sequences*) so lengthy that eventually separate words (called *proses*) were composed for them.

The earliest example of the word as applied to music which Forcellini gives is from the British author Gildas, who wrote in 548 or *very* little later (see my letter in *The Academy* of Nov. 2, 1895). Gildas may have been writing from Brittany, but he is rebuking Maglocunus, king of North-West Wales, and his words obviously exhibit a practice of the native British church. He complains that what Maglocunus delights in listening to is *not* 'dei laudes canora Christi tironum voce suaviter módulante neumaque ecclesiasticae melodiae', but his own praises from the lying lips of scoundrels, and that so the vessel once prepared in the ministry of God is being turned into an instrument of the devil, and what was thought worthy of heavenly honour is being cast into the pit of Tartarus (§ 34 at end). This passage contains an allusion to the fact (revealed in the next chapter) that Maglocunus had once taken monastic vows.

Now 'neuma ecclesiasticae melodiae' *may* mean *iubila*, i.e., melodies, without words, sustained by the voice after or between the words of the 'dei laudes', but it may also refer to strains of the organ commencing when the singers ended—and the original meaning of *neum* may be the breath of wind-instruments. The Rev. H. M. Bannister tells me that according to one interpretation the melody at the end of the Alleluia was performed by the singers and the organ alternately, and the extension to the former of a term originally invented for the latter does not seem difficult.

I cannot draw the distinction made by some writers, to which Mr. Bannister calls my attention, between *pneuma* = πνεῦμα and *neuma* = νεῦμα. I believe *neuma* to be merely a phonetic spelling, like *salmus* and *salterium*, and for the transferred meaning of 'a musical *sign*'. I compare the reverse process in the transferred meaning of our word *note* as 'a musical *sound*'.

[2] Even these words were written more than 2 years before it was found possible to complete the MS. for printing. For any inequalities of treatment I must plead that the task has been spread over more than a decade, at the beginning of which it is reasonable to assume that the writer's knowledge of MSS. and capacity for extracting information from them were less than at the end.

I am overwhelmingly indebted to the Rev. H. M. Bannister, whose acquaintance with liturgical MSS. of this period and with the melodies contained in them is almost, or quite, unrivalled, for his unfailing readiness to help me, and for frequently volunteered suggestions. He has looked over all my proofs, and has not merely pointed out various minor slips, but has alone made it possible for me to touch liturgical and musical matters, to the extent to which I have touched them, without much misdescription, misstatement, and erroneous deduction. The Rev. H. A. Wilson, secretary of the Henry Bradshaw Society, and a Curator of the Bodleian, has been equally willing to satisfy my inquiries: I have tried to acknowledge in the text or notes all my obligations to him, but cannot be sure that I have succeeded.

Theoretically, I ought to have examined, for comparison, the similar MSS. in other libraries. Had I done so[1], there would not have been the remotest chance of my living to finish this Introduction. But I hope that the example of the Bodleian may lead to the same labour being eventually undertaken in other libraries of the first rank.

The young student of musical history or of palaeography may learn from it—if he has not already learnt without it—that printed catalogues of MSS. are often most inadequate, and sometimes very misleading, as guides to the age and *provenance* of the MSS. they describe; that both oral and literary 'tradition' are likely to be found absolutely worthless when tested by palaeography; and that comparatively few of those who have worked on MSS. have been sufficiently trained, observant, logical, and self-reliant to gather from them instruction which often lies on their surface. Of what *may* still be gleaned he will find in these pages examples enough to stimulate him, I trust, to join in the gleaning.

I hope, however, that not only to the student of palaeography or the investigator of Bodleian MSS. will this volume be deemed of interest, or even of value, but also to historians of music and to liturgiologists. Even to the history of the Italian stave its contribution is not destitute of importance[2], and, so far as I am aware, the outlines of development of English musical notation prior to the late 12th cent. (when Sir John Stainer's 'Early Bodleian Music' begins) are here adequately shown for the first time. And, so far as I am aware, the discovery that the Winchester Troper, Sequentiary, and Proser conceal the lost 9th cent. music and words of the basilica of St. Martin at Tours creates a new departure in the history of mediaeval church-music which cannot fail to be of serious importance in itself, and which may point the way to conclusions, and further discoveries, which I cannot even guess at.

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P.S.—I cannot say how grieved I am at having to abandon my intention of adding an almost exhaustive index.

I began one, and wrote nearly three hundred slips towards it. But two facts then forced themselves on me. The first was that at the rate I was able to progress at, and on the scale I had designed, the index would seriously delay the publication of the work. The second was that it would seriously affect my own health, by keeping up, and probably aggravating, the deficiency of sleep and the distress of nerve which long-continued overdrive and overharass have brought on me.

May the Synopsis, which I had already provided, of the contents of the text make the absence of such an index the less felt. Perhaps also it will sometimes happen that a little more search has not been without some unanticipated finds.

[1] I have, however, inspected in the British Museum MS. Harl 1775 (Vulgate Gospels), to compare with our MS. Auct. D. 2. 14 (§ 2), and MS. Harl. 2961 as one of Leofric's books; while in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, I have examined MS. 134, a book of St. Mary's, Tynemouth, for comparison with MS. Laud misc. 4 (§ 13) Also I have been to Salisbury to see whether certain MSS. in the Chapter library there belonged to the Tours-Winchester-Exeter series—which they did not.

[2] Only a few days before these words go to the printer, I read in the new volume of the new edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (under 'Stave') that the red line for *F* was invented 'about the year 900' and the yellow line for *c* (called *C*) 'soon afterwards'!

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS OF TEXT

§ 1. Introductory: MSS. dealt with in presumed order of the age of their texts.

§ 2. MS. Auct. D. 2. 14, Gallican copy of the Vulgate Gospels. Probably 7th cent. (rather than late 6th). Allied to MS. 286 of Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge. Contains an 8th cent. glorification of St. Ceadda of Lichfield, and may have been brought over from Gaul by St. Wilfrid in 665 or 666. Was it written by Bp. Agilbert or copied from a MS. of his?

The neums were apparently written in the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, in 1065-1098.

§ 3. MS. Hatton 48, Benedictine Rule. Late 7th cent., doubtless written at St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury.

The neums were probably written in the abbacy of Ægelmær, 1006-1022.

§ 4. MS. Selden supra 30, Actus Apostolorum. Doubtless written before 752 (in the abbacy of St. Eadburga) in St. Mildred's abbey, Thanet.

The neums, if contemporary with the text, are the oldest yet known, but there is reason to suspect that they may have been added much later.

§ 5. MS. Canonici Patr. Lat. 112. Early 9th cent., and written in the zone of N. France.

The neums are apparently 10th cent.

§ 6. MS. Auct. D. 1. 20, Sacramentary of the church of St. Alban at Mainz. 9th cent. (before 853?).

The neums are apparently 10th or 11th cent.

§ 7. MS. Auct. F. 4. 26, fol. 1. 9th cent. (written in France?).

§ 8. MS. Laud Lat. 118, Martianus Capella, &c. 9th cent., and probably written in central France.

The neums also are apparently 9th cent., and are of Aquitanian type. The words are non-Christian, but suggestive of the Assumption of the Virgin.

§ 9. MS. Laud misc. 276, Gregory Nazianzen translated by Ruffinus. 9th cent. From Lorsch?

The neums are 9th or 10th cent., and the 'prose' they accompany, if rightly attributed to Alcuin, is the oldest known.

§ 10. MS. Add. C. 152, part of Cassiodorus on the Psalms. 9th cent., written in Italy.

Has added neums, including some of the 'Nonantulan' type, but is not in the 1166 Nonantula catalogue. Indirect reasons for supposing it to have been written before 866 and to have been left by Audo, bishop of Verona, to the monastery of St. Mary ad Organum in Verona. The *Exultet* neums may be as old as the MS., the rest are probably late 10th cent.

§ 11. MS. Bodley 572, a religious collection. 9th and 10th cent., written in or near Brittany and Cornwall. It passed to St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, probably in 980.

Neums on f. 13ᵛ (11th cent. ?) and f. 49ᵛ (late 11th ?) are accompanied by the letter *v*.

The funeral-antiphons on ff. 47-9 are late 10th or early 11th cent., probably written at Canterbury.

On f. 49ᵛ is a 12th cent. copy of Latin verses, with music in two parts by contrary motion in the *a—o* alphabetic notation.

§ 12. MS. Bodley 775, a Tours Troper, Tours Sequentiary, and Tours Proser, adapted for Winchester use. 979-80 and latter half of 11th cent.

The writing of the neums is mainly contemporary with that of the Troper, Sequentiary, and Proser respectively.

The inclusion of Justus in the Troper due to Winchester possessing his head. Discovery, by the Rev. H. M. Bannister, of part of an office for his day, from a Winchester Antiphoner (last third of 11th cent ?), now MS. Selden supra 36*.

EVIDENCE OF THE TOURS ORIGIN OF THE TROPER

(1) St. Martin and his master the only Confessors in the Litany, which contains no British saint. (2) Does 'Dedicatio Scī Martini Episcopi' mean 'Dedication of St. Martin Episcopi' or 'Bishop's St. Martin', i.e., the basilica of Martin outside Tours? (3) 'Grex tuus, Martine, petit memorare tuorum'. (4) Martinian connexion of the tropes for Swithun's Deposition and Translation. (5) The Alleluias commemorate only two non-Biblical saints, Laurence and Martin (' Beatus vir Sanctus Martinus urbis Turonis requiescit', &c.), and are probably earlier than 885. (6) Abundance of tropes found only in a limited group of churches, some of which were Martinian and others in local contiguity with Martinian churches. (7) The Benedictional of Æthelwold, another Winchester liturgical book, shows a Tours connexion.

The Winchester Troper was probably copied direct from the Tours Troper (with interpolation of the extra tropes needed for Winchester), before Oct. 20, 980.

The set of 107 Alleluia-verses.

EVIDENCE OF THE TOURS ORIGIN OF THE PROSER

(1) The initial proses include no non-Biblical saints besides Birinus of Wessex, except Germanus of Auxerre and Martin, and the body of Martin had once rested in the church of Germanus of Auxerre: they are probably earlier than the period 853-885. (2) The prose for Germanus seems to have been altered from a prose for Martin. (3) The Tours provenance is also seen in 'Germanum resultent castra', where read Castra = Castrum, the name of the suburb of Tours in which was the basilica of St. Martin. And the Moissac proser, like the Moissac troper, was based on a Tours book—since one of its proses for the dedication of the church begins 'Castrorum proles dedicativa Jam epitalamia reciprocata recolat sollemnia'. Other instances of 'castra' as a local name in the Moissac MS.

The additions in the Winchester Proser.

It was not written before Sept. 10, 998, and the prose for Augustine suggests 1005 as the earliest date.

EVIDENCE OF THE TOURS ORIGIN OF THE SEQUENTIARY

The Proser was obviously arranged to fit a pre-existing Sequentiary, and this is doubtless a copy of that.

Evidence that the Sequentiary was not compiled from the Proser.

Our copy probably not made direct from the Tours book, but from a lost intermediate Winchester copy.

Date of our copy after 1040, and not improbably after 1070. Reasons for placing it earlier than the Cambridge copy.

The Sequentiary originated before 886—being arranged to agree with the Proser. Comparatively small number of sequences. The neut. pl. *sequentia.*

AGE OF THE BODY OF THE MUSIC IN THE TOURS-WINCHESTER BOOKS

Its relation to Notker. What Notker did. A comparison of the sequences in the Tours Sequentiary and Proser, and of the series of 107 Alleluia-verses in the Troper, with the titles of the tunes to which Notker wrote, indicates that they are only under the slightest obligation to him and contain a body of music mainly anterior to him.

Presumptive evidence of the existence also of a Tours *Sacramentary* at Winchester will be found on p. lix.

PECULIAR NAMES OF TUNES

i. *Planctus cygni.* Text (with critical notes) and translation of the words. Critical text as strophically divided by Dreves, and suggestions as to an earlier division. The tune is not one of the 2 called Cygnea in another Bodleian MS.

ii. *Berta vetula.* Probably the same as Planctus Bertanae.

iii. *Chorus.* Has in the Cambridge MS. the alternative title *Bauuerisca:* its meaning?

iv. *Greca pulchra.* Meaning of the title?

v. *Hieronima.* Otherwise known as Frigdola.

THE NOTATION

/ the most common neum. How it is varied in the writing so as to indicate alterations of pitch.

Episemes.

'Romanian' and Metz letters.

THE LATER ADDITIONS

i. *The spaced neums.* Space between lines as before, but smaller hand, shorter neums, and an *appearance* of extended indication of pitch.

Then / became /, and we get very marked spacing to show pitch-variation.

These changes occupied a comparatively short time.

ii. *The neums preceded by letters.* A 12th (?) cent. writer puts *h*, *e*, or *l* at the beginning of 21 out of his 24 lines. These are 'Metz letters': their significance.

iii. *The neums on a stave with pitch-signature.* Always over erased 11th cent. neums.

The varieties of stave, line-signatures, and space-signatures employed.

§ 13. Group of 5 vols. given to Exeter by bishop Leofric at some dates between 1046 and 1072. All contain neums which may have been written at Exeter, while the second also contains Lotharingian neums and some which probably belong to the extreme S.W. of England. Leofric was 'Britonicus', i.e., probably a Devonian or Cornish Briton rather than a Breton, was brought up in Lotharingia, was chaplain to the King in 1044, and chancellor in 1046, when he was made bishop of Crediton, whence his see was transferred in 1050 to Exeter.

i. MS. Auct. D. 2. 16, Vulgate Latin Gospels, with a 'Comes' of lections at the end. The Comes is the usual Roman lectionary, but has special commemorations—including 3 of Winwaloe, founder and abbat of Landévennec in Brittany, which show that it was specially written for the use of the Landévennec monks. But was it written *at* Landévennec ?

In the 9th cent. the Bretons, attacked by the Normans, began taking their saints' bodies to safer regions. They took that of Winwaloe to Montreuil-sur-Mer, where a new abbey of St. Winwaloe was founded. This was after 877, but before 927, and probably before 909. Re-migration to Landévennec after 935.

Other connexions of Winwaloe with England. The Breton refugees with Eadweard and Æthelstan. The 'Reims Litany' a Winchester Litany adapted for their use, and including Winwaloe.

Relics of Winwaloe at Exeter and Glastonbury.

Another 'Comes' with commemorations of Winwaloe in MS. Bodley 155, a late 10th cent. MS. which belonged to the nuns of Barking Abbey. This and the present MS. are independent of each other. The Barking MS. may have been brought over from Montreuil by the Ponthieu refugees who took refuge at Winchester in the period 901-3.

The present MS. might have been written at Tours, but the singular coloured drawings make this improbable. There are also some Carolingian pictures, possibly added at Montreuil. Reasons why the body of the MS. was probably executed at Landévennec, not Montreuil.

It was written in the 10th cent., the Carolingian pictures being apparently added not before the middle of the 11th.

Conjectural history of the MS.

Lists added at the beginning of it in Exeter.

The neums.

ii. MS. Bodley 579, 'the Leofric missal'. Analysed by Canon Warren into 'Leofric A', 'Leofric B', 'Leofric C'.

Leofric A, 'a Gregorian Sacramentary', assigned by him to the diocese of Arras, or that of Cambrai, and to the early 10th cent.

Was it written for the Benedictine abbey of Lutosa (Leuze) in the diocese of Cambrai ?

The neums—which original, and which added.

The forking of tops of tall letters points to Leofric A not having been written till near the middle of the 11th cent. at the earliest.

Leofric B is 'an Anglo-Saxon Kalendar, with Paschal Tables, etc., written in England, circ. A.D. 970'.

Marks in a paschal table show that the table was in use not later than 972, and that it was apparently written either in 969 or in the 12 months preceding Easter of that year.

A Glastonbury connexion proved by Warren. Leofric B was written either at or for Glastonbury.

Has added neums, of Breton or Cornish type, probably written at Glastonbury, Crediton, or Exeter.

Leofric C 'consists of a heterogeneous collection of Masses . . . . etc., written in England partly in the 10th, partly in the 11th cent.'. It is partly written on margins or blank pages of B and C.

It includes the Tours-Winchester litany, and collects from a Tours sacramentary.

iii. MS. Bodley 708, Gregory's *Pastoralis cura*. Written in England in the 11th cent. The (solitary) neums on f. 110.

iv. MS. Auct. F. 3. 6, Prudentius. Written in England, apparently in the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 11th cent. The neums (over hymns). On f. 6 a hymn begins with tagged and ends with untagged neums, showing survival of the older forms at Exeter as at Winchester.

v. MS. Auct. F. 1. 15, Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae and Persius—written in the same English *scriptorium* in the 11th cent., and bound together at Exeter. The neums.

THE EXETER CURSE

All these have inscriptions of gift to St. Peter's, Exeter, with a curse on anyone depriving it of them. Comparison of the text of these inscriptions, with suggestion of an order of gift to be deduced.

§14. MS. Selden supra 27, a Sequentiary and Troper of Heidenheim in the diocese of Eichstädt. Written in Bavaria in the 11th cent. (after 1070?).

The Rev. W. H. Frere's examination: he regarded it as a Notkerian troper, coming from Freising or (more probably) Eichstädt.

The Rev. H. M. Bannister's examination: he regarded it as written by a St. Gall monk, or copied from a St. Gall MS., for a German monastery descended from St. Gall—probably Eichstädt.

He finds 3 unique sequences; 3 sequences not found in any St. Gall troper; and 2 very rare musical signs; and in some of the tropes *variae lectiones* strikingly like those of an 11th cent. Minden MS. at Berlin.

My own investigation.

F. 1 has added processional verses by one of the two Hartmann's of St. Gall, and most of them are repeated on the margin of f. 88^v.

The fact that Notker's preface is imperfect shows that the copy was not produced at St. Gall or from a perfect St. Gall MS.

The text of the Sequences is written mainly or wholly by one scribe, that of the Tropes mainly or wholly by another.

The original music of the Sequences is always written in the margin, according (Mr. Bannister) to the St. Gall practice.

The music of the Tropes is always written over them, according (Mr. Bannister) to the regular practice.

The sequences for the feasts of St. Waltpurgis and the Trinity have no music by the original hand; the former has none at all, and is written peculiarly, with the riming final *a*'s above each other.

The verses 'Hodie cantandus est nobis puer' ascribed to Tuotilo of St. Gall are here attributed to one of the two Hartmann's.

The combination of Sts. Willibald, Wunnebald, and Waltpurgis (two brothers and a sister), none of whom had sequences in an ordinary Notkerian troper, points to Eichstädt or its neighbourhood, and Willibald's commemoration is called *festiuitas*, a term shared only by those of St. 'Affra' and All Saints.

The particular place, however, is not Eichstädt but Heidenheim, where Wunnebald (here called *patronus*) erected a monastery for men, of which he became abbat, and a nunnery for women, of which Waltpurgis became abbess. Before 802 the monastery had been converted into a house of Canons.

The prose for Waltpurgis invokes her presence among the Sualaveldians, i.e., the inhabitants of the district in which Heidenheim (but not Eichstädt) was situate.

The fact that the commemoration of St. Afra, a special Augsburg saint, is called a *festivitas* suggests that the Sequentiary was copied from an Augsburg book, perhaps belonging to the house of canons of St. Afra; founded in 964, which became Benedictine in 1012. Special connexion of Augsburg with St. Gall.

The Troper, however, has the trope for St. Gall out of place, omits Afra and some other saints, and adds Sebastian and Corbinian. These additions show that its original was a troper written for Ebersberg in the diocese of Freising. At Ebersberg was a house of Canons founded in 911, which became Benedictine in 990.

The disbanded canons of Augsburg and Ebersberg may have sought homes in neighbouring houses of canons, and so the originals of the present volume may have come to Heidenheim.

§ 15. MS. Douce 222, 'the Novalesa Troper'. Written in the late 11th cent.

Special features of its notation. Continuation-lines for prolonged syllables. Repeated use of *f*, not as a 'Romanian' letter but to indicate *f* in the scale. 'Romanian' letters very seldom found—only *l*, *f*, and *t* a few times, and the first two in suspiciously light ink. Three remarkable symbols used, one (like *θ*) representing (Mr. Bannister) the *pes flexus*, another (like *θb*) the *pes flexus resupinus*, and the third the *flexus resupinus:* parallels since found by Mr. Bannister in an 11th cent. Visigothic MS. in the British Museum.

The volume consists of 5 parts, by 9 scribes—a book of Tropes, &c., and Litanies, with later additions; a book of Proses; and a collection of proses or *verba* to the offertory, followed by processional anthems from Christmas to Easter, with later additions.

The Troper contains St. Odilo, and was therefore written after 1048. The book of Proses, and the other collection of proses, &c., were written in the same monastery with each other, and so apparently the Troper.

The volume was ascribed by Gautier to St. Gall, by the Rev. W. H. Frere to 'Novalaise', and by Mr. Madan to N. Italy. I regarded the misspelling *Heldrahe* as fatal to Novalesa, of which Heldradus was patron, and ascribed the volume to France on account of its writing and ornamentation. The Rev. H. M. Bannister, however, pressed Novalesa, and Mr. Madan afterwards proved to me that the book came from there in 1778.

The question of place of origin is nevertheless complicated by the fact that when the MS. was written the chief seat of the Novalesa community was not at Novalesa but at Breme, the abbat ordinarily residing at Breme, and Novalesa being ordinarily in charge of a prior.

Evidence afforded by the commemorations of saints.

The absence of Heldradus in the collection of proses, &c. He may have had a full separate office, as in later times.

In the Troper, Peter is called patron, which supports a Novalesa origin. 'Heldrahus' (*sic*) in the 1st litany as one of 3 abbats shows connexion with or proximity to Novalesa. Solutor in the 2nd litany, as one of 3 martyrs, points to the diocese of Turin. In the 3rd litany, 2 of the 3 confessors are Syrus and Waleric, the former being the saint of Pavia (in the diocese of which Breme lay), while the body of the latter was at some time given to Novalesa.

Very strong evidence afforded by the *long* litany in favour of the same region.

Omission of the Susa saints, Iustus and Flavianus. The genuineness of the relics of the former was, however, denied (Mr. Bannister).

The MS. was written *for* some branch of the Breme-Novalesa community. The unique spelling Eldrahe for Heldrade a difficulty in the way of supposing it written *at* Breme or Novalesa. But there seems a possibility of a Piedmontese form Eldra(h)-. Or the *h* may even be a blundered reminiscence of the lost initial H-.

Difficulty also presented by *Odile* for *Odilo*; but the scribe may have been a comparatively new comer.

Palaeographical evidence as to Novalesa origin indecisive.

The description of Peter as patron is against St. Andrew's, Turin, a cell of the Breme-Novalesa community. The absence of any prose or trope for Heldradus a stumbling-block in the case of both Breme and Novalesa: still there *may* have been a separate volume for his office. Possibly different parts of the MS. were produced in different branches of the Breme-Novalesa-Turin community, and were carried backwards and forwards from house to house.

Final possibility that the book may have been written *for* Novalesa *at* Tours, by some of the Tours Canons, who enjoyed the hospitality of Novalesa on their way to and from the N. Italian possessions of the basilica of St. Martin.

§ 16. MS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 61, Gospel-lectionary. Written in the 11th cent., in the 'Lombardic' character, used in the ancient Lombard dominions, which extended to the extreme S. of Italy. At that period the Lombardic character was probably little, if at all, used north of the centre of Italy, and its chief centres were the monasteries of Monte Cassino and La Cava, and (Mr. Bannister), according to recent researchers, Beneventum.

The neums, of Lombard type, spaced, and some of them on a blind line left vacant between the lines on which the text was written. 'Directs' plentiful.

Illuminated in Monte Cassino style, but written for an abbey of nuns dedicated to St. Mary. The prayers for the secular powers—the emperor and the 'prior'—do not fit any of the 3 abbeys of St. Mary subordinate to Monte Cassino.

The other Lombardic MSS. in the Bodleian, and the other Canonici MSS. in similar binding, examined for a clew as to the *provenance*, which was found in the MS. next described.

§ 17. MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 277, a book of Hours, &c. Executed in the same Monte Cassino or Beneventan style, apparently in the latter half of the 11th cent.

Has added neums to a 'Lombardic' text, with 'Caroline' rustic capital initials of the 11th cent. type. These neums spaced and written on very faint blank staves of 3 lines. 'Directs' after each line of neums.

The text to the neums consists of part of 4 hymns: 1. Is to some female saint popular in Dalmatia (Anastasia ?); 2. Is apparently the beginning of a nuns' hymn; 3. May be the beginning of a hymn to the Virgin; and 4. Is addressed to the Virgin by nuns.

Prayers show that the MS. was written for a Benedictine nunnery, and those to Chrysogonus and Anastasia indicate that of St. Mary at Zara in Dalmatia. It was founded in 1052, and its church consecrated in 1072, when one of the parties to a grant made to it was the *prior* of the city.

Here we get the clew to the *provenance* of the MS. last mentioned (§ 16). That was clearly executed for the same nunnery, and the mention of emperor and prior indicates a date not before 1081. And Mr. Bannister finds that the neums for the (unwritten) names of the Pope, bishop, and emperor prayed for will only fit the period 1081-5.

§ 18. Group of Italian MSS. illustrating the form of stave with which the name of Guido d'Arezzo is associated.

Outline of the supposed history of Guido.

Rockstro in Grove's Dictionary of Music holds that Guido invented the red and yellow lines and the letters indicating the *F* and *c* clefs prefixed to them.

Abdy in the same work speaks of Guido as being credited with 'the honour of completing the "staff" or "stave" thus begun' by adding a black line for *a* and another for *e*.

§ 19. MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 359, a Pontifical of the cathedral at *Arezzo*, &c. Late 11th cent.? or early 12th?

This is a composite volume (Mr. Bannister), containing parts of a Breviary bound in.

Details of the various modes of notation.

The original notation of the Arezzo Pontifical seems to have had—

1. No red lines;
2. No signatures;
3. No blind lines except the ordinary ruling to receive text;
4. No directs.

Moreover, the additions are not all by a single hand.

These facts in an Arezzo MS. of that date invite examination of the claims made for Guido.

Rockstro's quotation from Guido's 'epistle to Brother Michael' is not from that epistle at all, but in certain prose 'Guidonis regulæ,' and certain 'Musicæ Guidonis regulæ' in verse, both of which are said to be 'in Antiphonarii sui prologum prolatæ'. True, Guido of Arezzo did write an antiphoner, but Guido was a common name, every choirmaster is said to have had his antiphoner, called by his own name, and the author of the 'Regulæ' may have been a different man. Rockstro himself points out that Guido's other writings contain no allusion to the inventions in question.

As regards the lines for *a* and *e*, there is no trace of them even in the 'Regulæ'.

§ 20. MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 358 has end-leaves of an Antiphoner. The body of the MS. (15th or late 14th cent.) found by Mr. Madan to have belonged in the 15th cent. to the monastery of St. Saviour at Venice, and Mr. Bannister has shown that it was written for a Venetian foundation. The end-leaves have been attributed to the 12th cent. or late 11th: the text of them is in a hand which might have been even late 10th.

The type of writing in these end-leaves is older than in the preceding MS., but the notation is more advanced. Details.

§ 21. MS. Canonici misc. 43, a composite volume of Italian origin. Contains 4 leaves of an Antiphoner of the 11th or 12th cent. These leaves belonged (in the 15th cent.) to a Dominican convent of St. Geminianus, but *where* is unknown. The stave-notation practically identical with that of the last MS. Details.

§ 22. Several Italian 12th cent. MSS. in the same Canonici collection have neums on a stave, but none of them seem to have a black line for *a* or *e*. These lines apparently posterior to Guido of Arezzo. The red and yellow lines probably not anterior to him, but possibly invented by him.

§ 23. MS. D'Orville 145, Latin poem on zodiac. Late 11th or early 12th cent.; written in Belgium?

Neums to lines 1-3, similar to some in a hymn to a Belgian saint in MS. Auct. T. 2. 23.

THE ST. ALBAN'S SERIES

§ 24. MS. Auct. D. 2. 6, composite liturgical volume. Written in the 12th cent. in England. Contents:—

A. Imperfect kalendar, with blue neums over the name of the anthem *O Sapientia* against Dec. 16. This kalendar has a (late 15th cent.?) memorandum relating to the priory of Benedictine nuns at Littlemore near Oxford.

B. A Psalter, with Canticles and Litany, with a memorandum of about 1260 relating to Littlemore.

C. A collection of meditations, partly selected from those of Anselm, and consisting chiefly of addresses to saints. The original of the text apparently meant for Augustinian canons, but has been adapted by the scribe for Benedictine use, while the illuminations indicate that this copy was made for a nunnery. As Nicholas is the only post-Biblical saint addressed besides (Augustine or) Benedict, that fact points to Littlemore.

The neums in A. merely spaced, without stave or pitch-signature. The paschal cycle supplies evidence that A. was written in the paschal year 1148-9. It cannot have been written for Littlemore or Abingdon. The Invention of St. Alban (Aug. 2) suggests St. Alban's or one of its cells, and Mr. Bannister proposes Wallingford Priory, only 9 miles from Littlemore.

A. B. C. may have been separate when given to the Bodleian, and A. has nothing to do with B., which apparently comes from Winchester Cathedral-priory, perhaps through prior Ingulf, who was afterwards abbat of Abingdon in 1130-59.

A. was probably produced *at* St. Alban's, and is the first of a series of 4 St. Alban's books of importance in the history of musical notation in England—the remaining 3 of which will now be described.

§ 25. MS. Rawlinson liturg. c. 1, an imperfect Sacramentary. Written in the 12th cent. at St. Alban's.

Details of notations. Includes neums on blank staves of 3 and 4 lines, the former with pitch-signature, which may have been also on the latter.

The prae-1115 date which has been attributed to this MS. is negatived by its polychrome initials, and it was probably written about 1160. It cannot be much later, as Edward the Confessor, Amphibalus, and Thomas of Canterbury are all omitted by the original hand.

'Amphibalus' an invented saint. Origin of the invention (all but unknown even in the most learned circles) here explained.

How the body of the imaginary saint was discovered at St. Alban's and 'translated'.

The neums on blank staves were certainly written before June 25, 1179, the first anniversary of this 'translation'; almost certainly written before the first commemoration of Thomas of Canterbury in 1173; and not improbably before the first commemoration of Edward the Confessor on Jan. 5, 1162. The spaced notation in red *may* be equally early.

§ 26. MS. Laud misc. 4, a Processional for the joint use of St. Alban's and its cell, St. Mary's at Tynemouth. Absence of Amphibalus proves it before 1179; presence of Margaret in last litany proves it after 1154. Doubtless written at St. Alban's (Note on a Tynemouth book in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford).

Has neums on a 4-line red stave, with pitch-signatures: one stave has 2 signatures.

§ 27. MS. Laud misc. 358, a St. Alban's Gradual. Probably illuminated by the same hand as the last MS., but its neums are more note-shaped.

Absence of Amphibalus proves it before 1179; absence of Thomas of Canterbury makes it doubtless before 1174: probably executed about 1160. Meant for St. Alban's alone.

Details of staves and signatures.

A 15th cent. binder added end-leaves of a 12th cent. Antiphoner (doubtless of St. Alban's). Details of notation. The neums are still more note-shaped than in the gradual, and the antiphoner was probably of later date.

§ 28. MS. Rawlinson C. 892, a Gradual of a cathedral with monastery attached—written in Ireland.

Details of notation. Includes *double b quadratum*, i.e., 2 *b quadrata* written one over another and combined into a single character; also 4 lines of text set for 2 voices.

Produced by 2 Irish scribes, each adding the music and illumination for himself. Probably not earlier than about 1165.

The litany contains no Irish saint, but has Birinus of Wessex—added to the Tours-Winchester list—and prayers offering many striking correspondences to those of the Winchester troper. The gradual is doubtless in the main a copy of some 11th cent. Winchester gradual brought over by Malchus, an Irish monk of Winchester, who became first bishop of Waterford in 1096, and afterwards or simultaneously bishop of Lismor.

The MS. was probably copied for Waterford—not Lismor, as St. Carthach is omitted.

§ 29. MS. Rawlinson D. 1225, a Martyrology, apparently executed about 1170. The entries relating to St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, indicate its place of origin. The omission of Thomas of Canterbury by the original hand makes it presumably earlier than Becket's canonization in 1173.

A hymn *Psallat celum, &c.*, may be as early as the body of the volume, and can scarcely be later than 1215. Details of its notation, and of that of two other pieces apparently of the 12th cent.

§ 30. MS. Laud misc. 668, a composite 12th cent. volume of English origin.

Contains the *Dulcis Iesu memoria* hymn attributed to St. Bernard, with music. Details of notation.

§ 31. MS. Lat. liturg. a. 6, a volume of scraps, contains 2 small fragments from 12th cent. antiphons—not (Mr. Bannister) of Sarum, York, or Hereford use. These have 19 staves, all of 3 brown lines; and 7 with pitch-signature *F* across the middle line.

The only other Bodleian MS. with a systematic 3-line stave seems to be MS. Douce 127, a Psalter written in Italy at end of 11th or early in 12th cent., with marginal cues of chants added probably in latter half of 13th. These are all on 3-line brown staves, and often have rests and directs, but no pitch-signatures. Mr. Madan's suggestion that Dominicus and Restituta point to a connexion with Sora. Of 68 saints following the Virgin the only one spelt with a capital is Restituta. From its writing and ornamentation the MS. was probably executed at Monte Cassino, only about 20 miles S. of Sora. Monte Cassino had much neighbouring property, and in 1089 received a church of St. Restituta close to Morrea, 9 miles N. of Sora.

§ 32. MS. Laud Lat. 95, liturgical. Attributed in the Laudian catalogue to the outgoing of the 12th cent., but by me to the 13th.

Details of notation.

Evidence that the volume was written for Ely, but in the 15th cent. it seems to have got to Chichester.

§ 33. End of the investigation, and completion of the trilogy of works planned by Sir John Stainer and his collaborators. The debt of the Bodleian to him.

EARLY BODLEIAN MUSIC.

THE very oldest Bodleian MSS. which contain neums are not those in which the neums are oldest. They are, indeed, of a time antecedent to any neums of which the existence is known to us. And it might be thought more proper to deal with them at a later stage, in connexion with the period during which the neums in them were written. But this Introduction is likely, for the present at least, to be consulted not only by those who are specially interested in mediaeval musical history, but by liturgical and palaeographical students, and it may be most generally convenient that the few MSS. in question should be noticed in the presumed order in which they were written. I had, indeed, during the course of printing, designed to change to the strictly musical order, but the difficulties of carrying out the change led me to abandon that design. **SECTIONS 1, 2.**

§ 2. The oldest Latin MS. in the Bodleian containing neums is **MS. Auct. D. 2. 14,** a copy of the Vulgate Gospels[1]. Perhaps it might conceivably have been written in the late 6th cent., but the 7th is much more likely. The original brown writing is that of a Gallican scribe[2]. The text is allied to that of MS. 286 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, particularly to the corrections of the latter; but neither MS. was copied from the other. The stichometry of the Oxford MS. is much closer to the primitive stichometry as reproduced by Wordsworth and White. The Cambridge MS., which is said to have been written on the Continent in the latter half of the 7th cent., and in 4 distinct hands, is proved by entries in it to have been at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the 9th cent. The Oxford MS. contains scraps of writing in English hands ranging from about the 8th to the 11th cent.—the earliest (f. 149^{v}) a glorification, in bad Latin, of St. Ceadda, which establishes a connexion with the diocese (probably the Cathedral priory) of Lichfield. I conjecture that St. Wilfrid brought it from Gaul in 665 or 666 and gave it to Lichfield, where land was granted him soon afterwards, and where St. Ceadda became bishop by his instrumentality in 669. As the chief of the bishops who had consecrated Wilfrid in Gaul in 664 was Agilbert, formerly bishop at Dorchester (Oxon), and an old acquaintance; as Agilbert had studied in Ireland; and as the text of this MS. exhibits 'Irish additions'—it is possible that it may have been written by Agilbert himself, or copied from a volume belonging to him.

The scribe has noted in the margin lessons for 6 special days, and a much larger number have been noted in another continental hand—besides similar additions made long after the volume had come to England.

The neums are on ff. 79, 79^{v}, 80. They are written over Luke iii. 21—iv. 1 (middle), and are preceded by this marginal preface, over which neums are also written: '*Dominuſ* uob*i*ſcu*m*· Et cum ſp*iri*tu tuo· In*i*tiu*m* ſanct*i* eu-uangelii ſec*un*d*u*m luca*m*'[3]. The writing is probably rather late 11th cent., and the neums apparently

[1] Given in 1603 by Sir Robert Cotton: 'he had owned it in 1602' (Mr. F. Madan in the 'Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.' in the Bodleian).

[2] It is very closely allied to that of (the British Museum) MS. Harley 1775, a copy of the Vulgate Gospels in a continental hand, which I regard as Gallican from its practice of splitting or forking horizontal strokes. That was once in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. The Bodleian MS. is more coarsely and rudely written, but the general style of the hand is the same. The Harley MS. is called late 6th or early 7th cent. I suspect the Bodleian MS. to be a trifle later, partly because its ɱ's are often more curved at the bottom, and partly because its general look is more unlike that of a 6th cent. hand.

[3] The Rev. H. A. Wilson tells me that this section is ordered in the Sarum missal to be sung at the end of the night-office which preceded mass on the morning of the Epiphany.

SECTION 2. of about its third quarter[1]. In the lesson thus sung, QUI FUIT, 'who was', occurs 75 times[2], and QUI, 'who', seems to have at least 12 varieties of neums over it, while FUIT, 'was', seems to have more than 30.

The place where the neums were written was doubtless the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, for at the end of the volume is a flyleaf on which are recorded, in a hand which seems to be somewhat late 11th cent., the names of Salomon the priest, the boy Wulfmer, Sigar the priest, and Æilmer, as having 15 books in their possession, and after them the names of Ealfric, Æilwine, Godric, Abbat Bealdewuine, Freoden, Hue . . . , and Ðuregisel. In 1868 and 1890 the Rev. Dr. W. D. Macray suggested (*Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 30) that the abbat mentioned is Baldwin of Bury, who died in 1098, and I can find no other possible Baldwin[3]. Moreover, Freoden is unknown as an English name, and I take it to represent the Bury abbat's brother 'Frodo', who held under him in Suffolk (*Domesday book* II. 354 b), and was doubtless the same as his Suffolk tenant 'Fredo' (363 b).

The abbey of Bury, traditionally founded in 631-7, was never in Lichfield diocese. Perhaps the volume was received by it as a gift, to replace one destroyed by the Danes.

Since this was in type, Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., in his 'Notes on the early history of the Vulgate Gospels', tries ineffectually to get rid of the Lichfield and Bury associations.

He says that the glorification is 'in a rather early Irish hand', and consists of a versicle and response, and part of an antiphon, 'both from the common of Confessor Pontiffs, which any monk would know by heart', *plus* additional words which are 'pure nonsense; it is evident that a scribe was trying his pen or showing another his style of writing. Either St. Chad was his special patron, or he was writing on St. Chad's day'.

Let us first compare the real text of the glorification with Dom Chapman's transcript:—

MS.	Elegıte dn̄s sacerdote sıbı
Dom J. C.	Elegit ē dn̄s sacerdote sibi
MS.	et sacrıficandu [eı ?] g[. . .] laudıs
Dom J. C.	ad sacrificandum ei h(ostiam) laudıs
MS.	Ic est sacerdos magnos quı ındıebus suıs
Dom J. C.	ic est sacerdos magnos qui in diebus suis
MS.	placuıt dō con fersor sc̄i 7 sæcerdos magnı
Dom J. C.	placuit dō confessor sc̄i et sacerdos magni
MS.	beatı sc̄e ceadda
Dom J. C.	beati sc̄e ceadda.

[1] The Rev. H. M. Bannister calls my attention to the fact that some of them have an 'episeme' (supplementary stroke).

[2] Each time in a separate line. The lines form groups, to the beginning of which are prefixed the 'Romanian' letters *l* (= *levare*) and *t* (= *trahere*). It is clear to me that they originally ran : *l* 5, *t* 6, *l* 5, *t* 6, *l* 5, *t* 5.
l 5, *t* 6.
l 5, *t* 6, *l* 5, *t* 6, *l* 5, *t* 5.
But at the beginning of the third series the first *t* has been completely erased by some person who has altered various neums; and the marks of scraping on the parchment are the only evidence that a letter was once there.

'Romanian' letters are letters interspersed among neums by way of musical direction: a list of their meanings will be found in *Paléographie musicale* IV., 10, with the legend of their invention at St. Gall in the late 8th or early 9th cent. by a certain Romanus. At Karl the Great's request Pope Adrian II. had sent Romanus and Petrus to Metz (where the long-deceased instructors sent by Gregory the Great had taught), in order to restore to the Gallic churches uniformity with the Roman use in singing. Romanus took a fever on the way and was laid up at St. Gall, Petrus going on to Metz. The authority for this story is Ekkehard IV., abbat of St. Gall, who died about 1036, and it may be true. But it is suspicious, (1) because, as Mr. Bannister points out, the names Petrus and Romanus look like the name of S. Petrus Romanus (where there was a school of singers established by Gregory the Great), (2) because a Roman is not *likely* to have had Romanus as his *original* name, (3) because 'Romanus' might mean anyone from a Romance-speaking country, such as Gaul, (4) because another set of significant letters, partly agreeing and partly disagreeing with those of St. Gall, was in use at Metz (Mocquereau, *Le Nombre musical grégorien* I., 171-4), (5), because Notker of St. Gall, explaining the letters in an epistle to a friend in the 9th cent., does not allude to Romanus or hint that the letters were invented at St. Gall.

[3] His name is needlessly made to begin a new line, and, as he came from Deerhurst to the abbacy, in 1065, it is possible that he and the three whose names follow his were new arrivals.

Now it is true that the top line has been partly cut away, and that there *may* have been a stroke, representing *m*, over the last letter of *sacerdote* and of *sacrificandum*, but, had there been one at the end of *Elegite*, there is ample space left for it to have been written in. Also I have never seen *ē* = *eum*. *Elegite*, too, suggests to me a choice between *Elegi te* and *Elegit te*. And the Rev. H. M. Bannister points out to me that the ancient form of the Response was *Elegit te*—see *Paléographie musicale*, ser. II., i., 379, from a late 10th or early 11th cent. MS. of the Antiphoner of Hartker of St. Gall. SECTIONS 2, 3.

Next, the scribe's blunder, *et* for *ad*, shows that he was not writing what he, at any rate, 'would know by heart', but was copying a written text in which he misread an imperfectly legible *ad*. Dom Chapman, who *does* know the text by heart, has made the converse blunder of substituting the *ad* which he *remembers* for the *et* which was before him.

The next two mutilated letters *may* be *es* (though at first sight they look more like *co*), but the third is not an *h*—it is an undoubted *g*. The Summary Catalogue has 'dig . . .', but the *d* would in that case have to be of the upright type, whereas the 10 undoubted ᵭ's are all of the sloping type. After a space in which may have been letters there appear the bottoms of what may or may not be *os*.

The blunder *con fersor* (not, as Dom Chapman, *confessor*) shows that the writer of the word was copying a text in which (as in his own hand) long *s* was easily misread as long *r*. And Dom Chapman has not observed the varied spelling 'sæcerdos'.

Further, I do not allow that the writing is 'Irish', that is, as distinct from 'Hiberno-Saxon': the cut of it in fact, is not Irish, but English. Nor is it in a single 'hand': from *confersor* to the end is by a second and inferior scribe. Finally, that ending is *not* 'pure nonsense': it can be construed 'confessor of the Holy One and priest of the great Blessed One, St. Chad'—but probably *magni* should be *magne* or *magnus*, 'great priest of the Blessed One', and in the Summary Catalogue Mr. F. Madan takes *scī* to be an error for *scē* (*sancte*).

I strongly suspect that the passage is an extract from a Lichfield service-book, begun by a scribe as an example of the hand which he wished a subordinate to follow, and completed by that subordinate.

As to Bury, Dom Chapman would like us to think that the leaf containing Baldwin's name does not belong to this MS. at all, but only came out of the old binding of it. He says the 'loose leaf' is 'half the height of the other pages'. He omits to add that the right-hand and bottom margins furnish the plainest proof that the leaf has been cut down; and, although he prints a not very accurate version of the first page of the leaf, he omits to call attention to the fact that its first line contains words of which the modern English is 'this the Gospel tract', where tract (*traht*) may mean either text or commentary: if this leaf has nothing to do with the Gospel text with which it is bound up, the coincidence is extraordinary!

As to any connexion with Canterbury, there is not one grain of evidence for it.

Still later, the new Palaeographical Society have dealt with the MS. Though I am a Vice-President of the Society and was present when the describer was in the library, no co-operation was invited from me, nor any draft or proof of the description shown me! Of it I need only say two things. First, that I absolutely refuse to allow the dating as early 8th cent., and that Sir E. M. Thompson in 1887 dated it as 7th cent. Second, that the 'conjecture' as to Lichfield 'adopted on the label in the case' and the writing of the label itself are both my own.

§ 3. Next comes **MS. Hatton 48**[1], a copy of the Benedictine Rule, executed, almost beyond question, at St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury[2], late in the 7th cent. A few neums are written on f. 20ᵛ (over

[1] It had belonged to Christopher, Lord Hatton, who died in 1670, and at whose death Robert Scot, a London bookseller, bought it—selling it to the Bodleian in 1671.

[2] It is illuminated in 'Hiberno-Saxon' style, and the rubric at foot of f. 40ᵛ is in 'Hiberno-Saxon' writing: with that exception the volume is written in rounded capitals (the term 'uncials' I disapprove) of *continental* type. And there is no other monastery of that date to which such a MS. can with any likelihood be attributed. Compare the 7th cent. Psalter of similar execution which once belonged to it, now in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Vespasian A 1), of which facsimiles are published in its Catalogue of ancient Latin MSS. (plates 12-15), by the Palaeographical Society (pl. 18), and in Westwood's *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* (pl. 40).

SECTIONS 3, 4.

the first line of a section), f. 29v (over PRIMA in l. 3), f. 44v (over the first line of c. 38), and f. 62 (over NOMEN in col. 2, l. 12)[1]. But, whereas the MS. is in black ink, the neums are in brown; moreover, what I take for an *e* has been added in the same brown ink over the neums on f. 62, and such an *e* would certainly not be 7th cent., nor, I believe, earlier than the 10th[2]. I suspect them to have been inserted in the days of one Ægelmær, whose name has been written in faint brown ink (but partly smeared out) on the same page with the third set of neums. And St. Augustine's was ruled by an Abbat 'Elmerus' (the same name) from 1006 to 1022.

When the volume received its present (post-Conquest ?) binding, a single leaf of another MS.[3] was added as a flyleaf. That leaf was written in England in the 11th cent. (second half ?), and on the margins of it are two sets of neums. One is without words, the other is written above the words 'Alme d*eu*s trine. conferua nof fine fine.'—which may be about contemporary or may be early 12th cent.: the neums to these words are of a very different type from the others in the volume. The words Mr. Bannister thinks may be a rimed benediction before a lesson. As both sets of neums run the way of the leaf (which has been inserted upside down) instead of the way of the MS., they were doubtless both written before the leaf was put in. And if, as is likely, the leaf was merely a rejected one (which had been re-written on account of an omission in its text), it is not likely to have had a long independent existence. In short, the neums were probably written, and the MS. bound, in the latter half of the 11th cent., not in the early 12th.

I find on the back of the old binding (now pasted inside the front cover) half obliterated letters and figures which seem to agree with the method of indicating the places of books followed at St. Augustine's, of which many specimens are extant.

§ 4. We come now to **MS. Selden supra 30**[4], an 8th cent. copy of Acts, written by 2 scribes, and part at least almost certainly in St. Mildred's abbey of nuns in the isle of Thanet, during the abbacy of St. Eadburga.

It once belonged to St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, and has the mark of that abbey 'DI. I. G. III'. In 1027 St. Augustine's had been put in possession of St. Mildred's abbey. That the volume was in a nunnery in the 8th cent. is indicated by prayers for a woman inserted on a blank page (70) in the middle of the text. The body of these prayers was written by a beginner with an imperfect knowledge of Latin, advanced in life ('senectutis meae', l. 12), and probably a wife or widow (ll. 13-15); but the first few letters were written for her by a practised scribe, who repeatedly intervenes to set her a better style.

The evidence that the nunnery was St. Mildred's is as follows. St. Eadburga, the abbess who died in 751, is known (from Boniface's correspondence with her) to have been an accomplished scribe, and on the bottom margin of p. 47 (just below ЄT) we have the scratching 'ЄADB', and much lower (almost on the edge) the further scratching '+ EA'[5].

The only neums I find are a few on p. 102, in l. 17, over the first two words of 'FЄCЄRUNT ЄT TЄRTIA DIЄ' and the first syllable of the third word. As regards their forms, they might be of any age

[1] The Rule orders the brethren to be read to at meals by a reader who came into office each Sunday (c. 38); the Rule itself may have been so read, and may have been intoned, and I am told by the Rev. Sir David Hunter-Blair, O.S.B., that successive parts of the Rule were and still are sung daily (not merely intoned). Mr. Bannister thinks these neums too florid for that purpose, but it is possible that they are intended to cover a much larger portion of the text than that over which they are written. He believes, however, that they are scribblings unconnected with the text.

[2] It is one of the 'Romanian' letters for musical direction, and stands for *equaliter*.

[3] Of Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, an identification I owe to the Rev. H. A. Wilson. The leaf contains parts of cc. 18, 19, and should be collated for any new edition. An omission of extraordinary length, due to *homoioteleuton*, has had attention called to it by the corrector, but has not been filled in: possibly the leaf was re-written in consequence.

The British Museum MS. Roy. 5. B. xv. of the Enchiridion belonged to St. Augustine's, but is (Sir G. F. Warner tells me) in a quite different and later hand.

[4] Received about 1659 from the executors of the celebrated John Selden. Facsimiles, price 1*s*. each, can be obtained of the prayers for a woman, the page with Eadburga's initials, the last page of the first scribe of the text, and the first page of the other scribe of the text.

[5] I believe these scratchings to be by Eadburga herself, as the + was the regular preliminary to a signature in a charter. A person trying a stilus would be much less likely to prefix it to another person's name than to his or her own.

from the 11th cent. backward to the 9th—*earlier than which no neums have hitherto been known.* As regards their ink, they look as if written contemporaneously with the words. *And, if this is so, then they are the oldest neums yet known to exist.* **SECTIONS 4—6.**

The words in question are in the middle of the account of St. Paul's shipwreck. Mr. Bannister once suggested that the neums were the scribe's reminiscence of the music of a passage in the Creeds which contains the words 'tertia die'. The versions of the 'Apostles'' and 'Athanasian' creeds given by Hahn (*Bibliothek der Symbole*) all omit *et*, and the 'Nicene' has 'et resurrexit tertia die'. But the Greek of the 'Apostles'' creed has *καὶ*, and it seems likely that 'et' existed in some Latin version also. I took the neums over 'fecerunt' to correspond to those over 'inferna' in the 'Apostles'' creed. To both myself and Mr. Bannister it seemed more probable that the neums were written *currente calamo* by the scribe (or copied from the scribe's exemplar) than that they were deliberately added by a reader.

Mr. Bannister, however, now says that we have no evidence of the Apostles' Creed being sung, that it is not certain that the Nicene was, and that the neums do not agree with those of the only 9th cent. melody assigned for that creed. He adds that they are of the character of Anglo-Norman neums of the 10th and 11th centuries, and that he now feels they are scribblings by a later hand. If so, I suggest that they were written by the same person who has added a long tag to the ϵ in ϵт, and many other tags hereabouts; and in that case I should doubt their being *earlier* than the latter half of the 10th cent.—or whether they were not added after St. Mildred's abbey had been given over to St. Augustine's.

§ 5. A very remarkable MS., apparently executed in the zone of North France, next calls for notice, **MS. Canonici Patr. Lat. 112**[1]. The section of the quarto catalogue in which it is described gives no hint that it is ornamented, and states its age as 'sec. xi. ineuntis', early 11th cent. It is rich in curious decoration, some special details of which are conspicuous in plate 45 of the Palæographical Society—representing a Boulogne MS. (no. 44) written between 804 and 820 at St. Bertin. The text is in hands of 9th cent. character, while the 8th cent. character of the hand of a corrector (*e.g.*, on f. 15v) makes any later period than the first quarter of the 9th cent. very unlikely. And on the back of the last page of text are two sets of neums. The first is for an ALLELVIA[2]; the second is over the line *Popule meuſ quıd fecı tıbı aut ın quo contrıſtauı te reſponde mıhı quıa eduxı te de terra ęgıptı.*[3] I suspect the writing and neums to be 9th cent. The peculiar characters on ff. 50, 104v, are not musical, but are 'Tironian notes' (shorthand).

§ 6. Next comes a magnificently ornamented Sacramentary of the 9th[4] cent., referenced as **MS. Auct. D. 1. 20**[5]. Its kalendar has against December 1 the words 'Dedıcatıo ecl*eſ*ıe ſanct*ı* albanı mart*yrıſ*', so that it was written[6] for the Church of St. Alban at Mainz, which was dedicated on December 1, 805[7]; and on

[1] The contents agree with those of a MS. which, in the middle of the 9th cent., was at Lorsch near Worms: see Gust. Becker's *Catalogi*, p. 107 (No. 353), and Theod. Gottlieb's *Mittelalt. Bibliotheken*, p. 49 (§ 109). Mr. Bannister adds that a Lorsch MS. in the Palatine Library has somewhat similar notation added by a 10th cent. Anglo-Saxon hand. The volume was bought by the Bodleian in 1817, in the collection of Matteo Luigi Canonici, a Venetian Jesuit who died in 1805.

[2] The writer of the Alleluia has also begun to scribble it at the foot of the previous page, and is probably the same person who has there practised capital D's and has then written on the *other* side of the leaf 'Dılexı . . .' or 'Dılexı te . . .'.

[3] This (I learn from the Rev. Alexius J. E. Mullan, S.J.) is part of the *improperia* sung at mass on Good Friday.

[4] I find no palaeographical ground to question the date assigned by Sir E. Maunde Thompson in 1887. Mr. Bannister in 1902 ascribed it to the second half of the 9th cent., but now doubts its being so early. If it had been written after 852, I should have expected to find in its kalendar St. Lul, Archbishop of Mainz, whose 'translation' (the equivalent of canonization) took place in that year.

[5] Bought in 1840, at an auction of volumes consigned from Germany. More may be seen about it in the Summary Catalogue of our Western MSS., v., pp. 459-60 and xxix.

[6] Mr. Bannister thinks that it was probably written by a monk of or from St. Gall, and there was an ancient bond of confraternity between St. Gall and the brethren of the church of Mainz.

[7] Pertz, 'Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores', ii., p. 240; Duemmler, 'Poetae Lat. aevi Carolini', i., p. 431. This Alban was a local saint, not to be confounded with our British one. Really it was only a re-dedication: 'Martiris Albani *renovavit* culmina Richolf', and Fastrada, queen of Karl the Great, had been buried there in 794.

SECTIONS 6—9.

ff. 36v, 37, part of the text has neums above it. They are in ink browner than that of the text, though not browner than that of the contemporary kalendar at the beginning; and some resemble the forms given as of the 10th and 11th centt. in 'Paléographie musicale', i., p. 121, rather than the forms there given as of the 8th and 9th centt. 'Episemes' are frequent in them, and Mr. Bannister calls attention to an instance of the 'Romanian' letter *f* (*sursum*). To the *Benedictio caerei* (*f.* 30) there are no neums.

§ 7. **MS. Auct. F. 4. 26**[1] has at the beginning a leaf described in the Summary Catalogue of our Western MSS. as 'from an early 10th cent. Antiphoner, with musical notes'. I am disposed to think this leaf even 9th cent., and the neums written above the words are contemporary: the writing is French in character.

§ 8. The oldest piece of music written to non-Christian words which the Bodleian possesses is in **MS. Laud Lat. 118**[2]. This volume contains among other things the work on the marriage of Philology with the god Mercury composed by the pagan Latin writer Martianus Capella, probably about the year 300. The text is in a 9th cent. type of hand, and there is an abundance of interlinear and marginal notes which, so far as I have examined them, may very well be of the same century. Now on ff. 11v, 12, of which a plate is appended, neums have been added, in the same-coloured ink as most of the accompanying notes; and it is certain that the second line of neums on f. 12 was written before the words *insita diuinitate* above them, because the writer of those words has obviously tried to avoid running into the neums. These neums, then, are, I believe, 9th cent.: later than 10th they certainly are not. Mr. Bannister informs me that they are of the Aquitanian type.

But, though the verses which the neums accompany are purely pagan, I have no doubt that they were set to music because some of them reminded the composer of the Assumption of the Virgin. The prelude to the song of each Muse, *Scande caeli tēpla uirgo*, 'Climb heaven's temples, virgin', has its parallel in two proses for the feast of the Assumption—one beginning *Scande cælos*, the other *Scandit astra virgo*. Mr. Bannister says that this prelude has neums attached to it in an early 10th cent. MS. of Capella at the Vatican (MS. Regin. Lat. 1987), on f. 1v.

Where does this curious piece of music come from? The writing suggests central France, and on f. 1v is an uneducated 15th cent. inscription of which part has been erased but which contains the words 'et eſt liber iſte' [long erasure] 'et eſ' Aureſlīā' [erasure], whence it looks as if the volume was then in some monastery at Orléans; conceivably it may have been written for the abbey of St. Symphorianus, which was transferred to the Jesuits in 1617: but this is nothing more than a remote chance.

On f. 1 are certain marks of ownership:—(1) *Roman* numerals equivalent to 234, accompanied by (2) a cypher which I cannot read; (3) in different ink from these, a monogram which looks like *whbert*. Hurriedly examining all the MSS. of which the ownership was unknown that were given by Laud in the same year as this, the first year of his gifts, I find a considerable number with one or more of these marks. [3]Many of them demonstrably belonged to French monasteries, and none were certainly written out of France except one written in Ireland in the 11th or 12th cent.: even that may have been carried abroad by an Irish monk. I suspect that they all belonged to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, who died in 1630, and were obtained by Laud from him or his executors.

§ 9. **MS. Laud misc. 276**[4] is a fine 9th cent. copy of works of Gregory Nazianzen, translated by Ruffinus, at end of which has been added a 'prose' to the Archangel Michael, beginning *Summi regiſ archangele michahel*, with the music of every line given at the side. The accompanying + = *Christe*, and is the scribe's invocation. The A E V A above the music represent A*LLELVIA*, to which the music forms a

[1] One of the MSS. which belonged to Dr. Edward Bernard, who died in 1697: it was bought from his widow in 1698.

[2] Given by Archbishop Laud in 1633.

[3] Details of this investigation would be useless here, but will be found in our annotated copy of the Bodleian catalogue.

[4] Given by Archbishop Laud in 1638.

'sequence'. 'Episemes' and 'Romanian' letters are used. I learn from Mr. Bannister that this prose is a variant version of one attributed to Alcuin, who died in 804. The authority for the ascription appears to be the 11th cent. MS. 1285 of the Stadtbibliothek at Trier (Mone, *Lat. Hymnen d. Mittelalters*, i., p. 452), and if it be correct, that is the oldest known prose in existence. At the end of Mone's text is 'Has tibi symphonias plectrat sophus, induperator', which may be the origin of the ascription to Alcuin, whose known poems, however, are all in classical metres (Mone, i., p. 366). The text of the Laudian MS. is mainly that of the variant version printed by Mone on p. 453. **SECTIONS 9, 10.**

I think this addition may very well be of the 9th cent.: it is certainly not later than the 10th. I suspect it comes from the monastery of St. Nazarius at Lorsch, near Worms. For I find that a number of MSS. given by Laud came from Lorsch (though the fact was not detected when the catalogue of them was printed)—most of them also given in 1638; and the contents of this one agree almost exactly with no. 512 of the Lorsch catalogue[1] printed by Becker (*Catalogi*, p. 113). The only difference is that it has not got at end a treatise on the order of the Old and New Testament; but it is doubtful whether that was out of Nazianzen's works, and it may have been separated at some time when the volume was rebound: moreover, on the last page is the 'set-off' of some of the letters of another ancient MS., which makes it practically certain that another MS. was at one time bound up after it in the same covers. Mr. Bannister, who has gone through the Lorsch MSS. in the Palatine Library, tells me that both writing and neums are quite of the Lorsch types.

Samuel, who became abbat of Lorsch in 838, had been a pupil of Alcuin's (Vaucelle, *La Collégiale de Saint-Martin de Tours*, 343); so that, if the prose *is* Alcuin's, its early transmission to Lorsch is easily accounted for.

§ 10. **MS. Add. C. 152**[2] is the last of a set of 3 vols. (the other two of which are not in the Bodleian) of Cassiodorus on the Psalms, and I agree with Mr. Madan that it was written in Italy by an Irish scribe. The last page, here facsimiled, has on its top margin part of an address to the Trinity accompanied by neums of the peculiar type used at Nonantola in the province of Modena. This Mr. Bannister considers to be probably the 'beginning of an Antiphon or Alleluia, the end of which, or the *sequela* over the final *a*, is represented by the neums without text'.

I doubt these neums having been written *at* Nonantola. I presume they were not written until the body of the page had been pretty well filled up: in that case the *Exultet celum* neums in the middle of the page were written earlier, and *they* are *not* 'Nonantulan'; nor is the volume itself in the 1166 catalogue of the Nonantula abbey. It seems to me likely that the MS. was written in the diocese of Verona, and belonged to a monastery in or near Verona, and my reasons are as follows.

With this MS. was bought another, MS. Add. C. 16, of about the same age, which was also announced not to have belonged to Libri. That has on the top of f. 3^v the words *audipſulj*, i.e., *Audi presuli(s)*, 'bishop Audus's'. Now Audus or Audo is the name of a bishop of Verona who died or vacated his see not later than 865, and has left a will written in 860. In that will he largely benefacts the monastery of St. Mary ad Organum in Verona, and the MS. may have gone thither; but in the 13th cent. it belonged to a 'house of St. Luke', and there was at Verona a conventual church of St. Luke, of the Cruciferi (who were authorized there in 1173 and suppressed there in 1656)[3]. This MS and the one before us agree in three particulars: (1) their text-measurements are virtually identical, (2) they are both copied so as to follow their exemplar page for page, and (3) they both have 32 lines to the page.

[1] Becker gives this as from a 10th cent. MS., but the later work of Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, assigns it (p. 49) to the middle of the 9th.

[2] Bought in 1859 at the Libri sale, but expressly stated to have not been one of his MSS.

[3] A MS. of the same consignment is said in the sale-catalogue to have belonged to the house of St. Luke of the Order of Humiliate Brethren at *Brescia*, but I have not succeeded in verifying the existence of such a house there.

SECTIONS 10, 11.

I therefore assign this MS. conjecturally to the neighbourhood of Verona[1] and to a date in the 9th cent. not later than 865. If it stood by itself, the text to the *Exultet celum* neums might be equally old, but Mr. Bannister says 'The neums are partly diastematic, i.e., they represent by their position their respective pitch. Though traces of this natural method of writing are found in the tenth cent., as a system it did not come in until the end of it'[2]. The last item on the page seems to me (from the *b* in 'laborat') 10th cent., and the Nonantulan neums (as a presumably subsequent addition) I feel bound to assign to the same period: *much* later they cannot be—indeed their text appears to me to be by the scribe of the *Exultet celum* text. I have to thank Mr. Bannister for having informed me of their special character, and of the fact that Nonantulan notation is at least as old as the 10th cent. He has, indeed, shown me a photograph of Nonantulan neums in a Nonantulan book in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome (MS. Sessor. 96, f. 316), to which he says the Bodleian neums are very similar: we both conjecture the book in question to be of the 10th cent.

§ 11. **MS. Bodley 572**[3] next claims attention. Its contents were written in the 9th and 10th centt., partly in or near Brittany and partly in Cornwall. On f. 13v is a line of neums, but the line of text over which they are written is an addition—I believe, of the 11th cent. On ff. 47-49 are Latin funeral-antiphons with neums, but in a late 10th or early 11th cent. English hand. On f. 49v are Latin verses[4] set to music 'which is in two parts by contrary motion in the alphabetic notation' (H. E. Wooldridge, 'Early English Harmony', p. viii.); that is to say, the notation which indicates the first and second octaves from the bottom of the scale not by *A-G* and *a-g* but by *A-O* or *a-o*. They are 12th cent.[5], and are followed by a 'Bene dicamus domino' and a 'prose', both with neums. The prose is in a hand of apparently the last quarter of the 11th cent., and was doubtless written before anything else on the page. The *Benedicamus* may be late 11th or early 12th. Between them come four lines (written as one) of a rimed antiphon (so Mr. Bannister), probably commemorating the death of St. Augustine of Canterbury: it is in a 12th cent. hand. A line scribbled at the head of f. 91, but not by the original writer, looks to me like shorthand.

Both the neums on f. 13v and those of the 'prose' on f. 49v contain a letter *v*, pointed out to me by Mr. Bannister, who is not at present sure of its significance.

The English monastic libraries into which an ancient MS. written in Brittany or Cornwall would be most likely to drift—so far as the few known instances indicate—would be those of (1) Glastonbury, (2) Christ Church,

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[1] This attribution is now virtually established by the following note from Mr. Bannister:—'The only manuscripts, besides those known to be of Nonantola itself, where the Nonantulan notation is found, are several Verona ones in the Chapter Library of Verona. The neums there are added in several MSS. by an 11th cent. hand'. He refers to LXXXVI (81), a Verona sacramentary of the 9th cent.; CVIII (92), containing a Verona antiphon of the 11th; CVII (100), a Mantua troper of the 11th with Verona additions of about 1100; CV (98), a Verona missal of 1135-7; and CXIV (89), a Verona ordo of the 12th cent.

[2] He since adds that the neums are of a 10th cent. North Italian type.

[3] Given in 1606 by 'Rodolphus' Barlow, B.D. He was a Cheshire man. At this very time William Barlow, bishop of Rochester, was also dean of Chester and canon of Canterbury. He was of the Barlow Moor family of Barlows, just over the Lancashire border. Were the two men related, and did the donor of the MS. obtain it from the Canon of Canterbury?

The Summary Catalogue of our Western MSS. has not yet reached this MS. in print, and for the present I must refer students for any further account of it to Henry Bradshaw's *Collected papers*, pp. 470-1, 486, and to my notes inside the cover of the volume itself. I consider that Bradshaw was mistaken when he referred the first piece in it to Cornwall and not Brittany: the references to Lannaled (one on each of its two pages) are almost decisive to my mind that it is part of a Lannaled service-book. Note that the scribe of the leaf uses *s* for the *t* of *ardentius* and *c* for the *t* of *citius*.

The present binding is a Bodleian one. Apparently the various MSS. it includes were in a single cover when they came into the library, but how soon they were united cannot be ascertained. All except the first (a single leaf) bear evidence of having been cut down by a binder. The Augustine and Mildreth 'tags' on f. 39v are in the third; and the funeral-antiphons, the two-part music, and the prose for a church dedicated to the Virgin, are in the fourth.

[4] 'To St. Stephen,' according to Mr. Wooldridge (*Sammelbände d. internat. Musik-Gesellschaft*, iv., 571); the *c* in his *propiciatus* should be a *t*. I am since told by Mr. Bannister that they are the versicle of 'Sancte Dei pretiose', one of the responds in the office for St. Stephen's day.

[5] Not late 10th, as Mr. Wooldridge supposed (following H. B. Briggs in 'The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages'). The statement that 'Only two pages contain music' also needs correction: there are six of such pages, besides a line on each of two others.

Canterbury, (3) St. Augustine's, Canterbury[1]. The Canterbury monasteries, beyond any reasonable doubt, got *their* MSS. of this kind from Glastonbury, through Archbishop Dunstan, who had been abbat of Glastonbury from about 945 to 956; or Sigeric of Glastonbury, who became abbat of St. Augustine's in 980, bishop of Ramsbury in 985, archbishop in 990, and at his death in 994 'gave his books—extremely good ones—to the church of Canterbury'[2]; or Ethelgar, or Ælfheah, or Ethelnoth, who became archbishops in 988, 1005, and 1020 and had all been Glastonbury monks. Glastonbury was much visited by Irish pilgrims, and Dunstan when a youth read their books[3]. SECTION 11.

That our present volume came thence through Canterbury, I have no doubt: as regards Canterbury there is internal evidence which to me is conclusive. On f. 49ᵛ a 12th cent. hand has written

Huıuſ regınę ſtantıſ adextrıſ ımperıalı
ornamento uultū ſplendorıſ contulıt gemma
fulgıdıssıma beat*us* uıdelıcet AVGVSSTINVS ep̄c

Of course Augustine the bishop[4] might be Augustine of Hippo, but except in a house following the Augustinian rule nothing of the kind would be likely to be written[5], and *this* MS. belonged to a house which (like our two Canterbury monasteries) followed the Benedictine rule: for on f. 47ᵛ we have the protection of 'Benedict the most sainted father of monks' invoked. Again, on f. 39ᵛ are five 4-line antiphons (so Mr. Bannister), in honour of the following saints—Benedict, Laurence, the Virgin, Augustine, and Mildreth. Now Mildreth was not merely a Kentish saint, but was buried at Canterbury—the only question being as to whether her body was possessed by the monks of St. Augustine's, as they insisted, or by those of St. Gregory's. But St. Gregory's was not founded till 1084, and was never a Benedictine house.

Save for Mr. Bannister's criticism and information, I should also have regarded the 'prose', with neums, which is written in the middle of f. 49ᵛ as decisive for St. Augustine's. It begins [v]'ırgınıſ matrıſ annua aecclef*ie* folle*m*pnıa. Vırgınıſ prolıſ ıntegra magnıficent precordıa'. Dreves (*Analecta hymn.* x, p. 45[6]) heads this 'In Dedicatione Ecclesiae'; 'The annual solemnities of the church of the Virgin Mother' seemed to me the natural translation of the first line; and in the abbey of St. Augustine's, besides the original church of the monastery, there was one dedicated to the Virgin, dating back to the first half of the 7th cent. But Mr. Bannister contended that it is the Church which is allegorically described as a virgin mother, stating that she is so called in pictures which accompany *Exultet* rolls; and I had to confess that his interpretation better accorded with the 'prose' as a whole. He subsequently removed the possibility of doubt by referring me to the prose 'Gaude, virgo mater ecclesia' in Dreves's *Anal. hymn.* ix, 39. On reading that, I observe that either it is partly paraphrased from the one before us, or *vice versa*, and I may add that a copy of it (not mentioned by Dreves) is found on f. 1 of the additions at the beginning of our Winchester volume, MS. Bodley 775, in a hand of the first half of the 12th cent.

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[1] See the list in Henry Bradshaw's *Collected papers*. Bradshaw, the first to study these MSS. palaeographically, has not mentioned the Canterbury connexion of the present volume or suggested how any of these MSS. reached Canterbury. Let me add that MS. Bodley 792, which Bradshaw does not mention, has on ff. 1, 3, 10, 19, illuminated initials which I cannot doubt to have been executed by a Breton hand: they are of additional interest from their general resemblance in style to the Breton initials of the 9th (or at latest 10th) cent. in MS Auct. F. 4. 32. MS. Bodley 792 was given in 1602 by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. It consists of two treatises, with continuous quire-numbering, written in two very similar hands of the 12th cent. The first treatise is illuminated by the Breton hand, and I suspect him to have illuminated the second also, owing to the interlaced work on f. 46: but the fact that the second was pretty clearly illuminated in England indicates that the first was also. Doubtless the place was Exeter, the diocese wherein lay Cornwall—between which and Brittany intercourse would be frequent.

[2] 'Libros suos valde bonos Cantuariensi dedit ecclesiæ' (Gervase of Canterbury, *Actt. Pontt*, in the Rolls ser. ed. of his works, ii., p. 357).

[3] See § 5 of his life by his own acquaintance 'B.' (Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, pp. 10, 11, in the Rolls ser.).

[4] In case it should be objected that Augustine of Canterbury ought to have been described as *arch*bishop, let me say that in kalendars he is constantly termed 'bishop'.

[5] Nor do I believe that the Father of the Church would have been described as a bishop at all.

[6] He prints a strophically-divided text, with the correction 'emissa' for 'amıſſa'.

SECTION 11. The prose now in front of us seems to have been written on the page before anything else. And it contains the words 'qua ad dexteram ſtabıt hec regına'. It is upon those words that the three lines quoted above ('Huıuſ, &c.'), and added at top of the page, were composed[1]. I believe them to be an attempt at strophe-writing:—

Huıuſ reginę	uultum ſplendorıſ
ſtantıſ adextrıſ	contulıt gemma
ımperıalı ornamento	fulgıdıſſıma
beatuſ uıdelıcet	AVGVSSTINVS *epiſcopuſ*

I suggest that *Augusstinus* may have been pronounced *Austinus*[2]; but the line above it is imperfect.

It is only while correcting my second proofs that I actually find the MS. in the 15th cent. St. Augustine's catalogue published by Dr. M. R. James in his *Ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*. When I began this Introduction that book had not appeared, and when it did appear this was not in the list of Bodleian MSS. which Dr. James had identified: also the Canterbury cataloguer had failed to index the treatise of Augustine which the MS. contains, so that in looking for it among his Augustines I failed to find it.

In that catalogue the volume appears thrice. The earliest entry was that on p. 274 in a list of copies of the *Expositio* (or *exposicio*) *misse*: our volume is lettered 'Missæ Expositio', and the second item in it (at f. 2) is 'EXPOSITIO MISSAE'. The next entry was that on p. 285, where no. 836 is described as 'Eulogium Cornubiensis de homine assumpto et in eo-dem libro | Ecclesiastica rethorica et multa perti-nencia | ', and where the first words of the second leaf in the volume are given as '2° fo. in libro *vel per-sona*'. The 'sermon of a Cornishman on the assumption of man[3]' is really a work of Pirminius, but it is a work of extraordinary rarity, and anonymous: Bradshaw did not find out its authorship, nor should I have done so but for the volume of 'Initia' to the Latin Patrology of Migne — so that the cataloguer has every excuse. But the words *vel persona* are not now the commencing words of the second leaf: how do I explain that? Well, the long imperfect Penitential which precedes Pirminius has on its first leaf two holes, in a vertical straight line, and each of them distant about 2 in. from each of the two margins nearest to it: they were made by the ends of pieces of metal in the original binding of that Penitential, and show that the contents of the volume are not in their original positions.

That fact explains a third entry of the volume in the Canterbury catalogue — an entry which Dr. James tells us has been *added*. It is no. 129, on p. 204, 'Textus Thobie cum a et in eodem Exposicio canonis', and the identifying words given are 2° fo. *et quando*', and the shelfmark 'd.i.G.3'. Now *et quando* are the commencing words on the second leaf of the present volume, and the Exposition of the [canon of the] mass which begins on that leaf is followed by LIBER · THOBIE · on f. 14. This entry was of course made after the rebinding of the contents at Canterbury.

Further inspection shows that the volume consists of two bound up together, each with its own rust-holes both at beginning and end; the dividing point is between ff. 50, 51. And this had been done, as the entry on page 274 shows, when the Canterbury catalogue was executed (after 1491, but probably before 1497). Mr. S. Gibson well suggests that the rust-holes in the body of the leaves are due to nails, or bases of bosses, for fastening thongs across the covers; and that others on the bottom edge at end of the volume are chain-marks.

But I believe I can now go a great deal further still and say definitely that this book, or at any rate that part of it which contains the 4-line tags, was brought from Glastonbury to St. Augustine's by Sigeric in 980. My evidence is derived from the paschal table on f. 40v.

[1] And I suggest that the almost completely erased words above them are 'Vırgınıſ matrıſ', and are an explanation of 'Huıuſ reginę'. If these extra lines were not composed until they were here written, they show that St. Augustine's kept up the old style of 'prose' -writing long after the advent of the new rimed style which superseded it.

[2] But in the tag on f. 3v the vocative was clearly pronounced *Augũstĩnẽ*, that is, at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th cent.

[3] This hasty conclusion was drawn from a passage near the beginning, in which Pirminius says that man, had he kept God's commandment, was intended to succeed to the place in heaven of the lost angels.

That table is a key to the paschal cycle of 532 years. By comparison with the Easter dates in Grotefend we see that it is calculated for 836—1367. It would equally fit 304—835, or 1368—1899, but the age of the writing puts both of those periods out of question. And I observe that it is calculated for precisely the same period as the key in MS. Douce 296 (see my note in Mr. Madan's Summary Catalogue of our Western MSS., vol. 5, p. xxii), which, though prepared for Peterborough, belongs to the Winchester school and was very likely executed at the Old Minster, Winchester. Comparing a few entries in them, I find, however, that the Douce MS. (which I have dated between the Easters of 1037 and 1038) has the correct letter *q* in the space for 847, where our present volume wrongly has *v*[1]. SECTION 11.

Now my experience is[2] that the writer of every such key put some little mark—*e.g.*, a dot, a stroke, a tag to a letter (once even the word *hic*)—to show the point which coincided with the date at which he was copying it. I don't say it was a *rule* that he should do so : it may have been merely a natural impulse on each scribe's part. I don't even say that it was *always* done : but I have never yet seen a case in which it wasn't. And, examining *this* key to see what is the earliest year[3] against which such a mark can be found, I find it to be 981, where the top left corner of the rectangle containing the Easter-letter *e* has been cut off by a long thin stroke. Presumably, then, the key was written after Easter 980 and before Easter 981. I look back to the paragraph in which (many years ago!) I had recorded the sequence of Glastonbury promotions to Canterbury, and I find that the only one from Glastonbury to St. Augustine's was that of Sigeric — the others being to Christ Church — and that Sigeric became abbat of St. Augustine's in 980. Of course this *may* be mere coincidence, without any significance, but the contrary chances are to my mind overwhelming, and I have no serious doubt that the key was copied in that year either by him or more probably *for* him (as it has the illiterate NONUS for NONAS). And I suspect I can explain why.

The Bodleian has a kalendar, with paschal and other chronological tables, copied at or for Glastonbury a few years earlier, apparently in 968 or 969[4]. It is very full and very finely executed, but it has no key to the paschal cycle. Consequently we may guess that Glastonbury did not possess such a key, and that Sigeric, when he left Glastonbury for Canterbury in 980, had never seen one. Well, on his way he would certainly pass through Winchester, and, if he saw there the key reproduced in MS. Douce 290[5], it would be natural for him to have it copied on a blank page in one of the books he was carrying with him[6].

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[1] If the scribe was writing across, and not down, the page, this error might be due to his still having in his mind the last letter he had written, the numeral *v*.

[2] See my remarks in our Summary Catalogue vol. 5, pp. xii, xiii.

[3] There are often similar marks by later hands, people consulting the key to find the date of the next Easter. In the key before us there is a dot of this kind above the T which indicates 1297, and there are other corresponding marks in the neighbouring column—over the T and over the second X—showing that the key was used to find Easter for 1297.

[4] See § 13 (ii).

[5] That key may have originated in one executed at St. Bertin, or its annexe St. Omer, about 840—844, and copied about 867 by a priest named Rægenbold. In 867 he wrote the Winchester chronological volume MS. Digby 63, which is in the Bodleian. The kalendar in the Digby MS. is based on a St. Bertin kalendar, and f. 36v is derived from a table written in 844, the 1st year of Adalhard, abbat of St. Bertin, while f. 26 is from an original written under the emperor Ludwig, who died in 840. Now both 844 and 840 are in the 19-year cycle which began in 836. I suggest therefore that the same Flemish priest from whom Winchester got this MS. brought to it likewise a copy of the paschal key for 836—1367. See my notes in the official copy of the Digby catalogue. It may be urged that I have myself suggested in those notes that Rægenbold came to Winchester from Canterbury, and it may be asked why this key should not have been already at Canterbury and copied for Sigeric *there*. Well, there *may* have been a copy at Canterbury also but, if so, that would not explain how the key came to be transcribed at all in 980. If for transmission elsewhere, it would not be written in a book meant to be kept at St. Augustine's. If for use in St. Augustine's, a liturgical volume was the only proper place for it. But, if we suppose that Sigeric first saw the key in passing through Winchester in 980, and had it copied on to a blank page in one of his books because he did not know whether the Canterbury people had it, all the facts dovetail into each other.

When and where these keys originated I do not know, but it is worth remarking that 836, 840, and 844 all fall into the time during which the abbacy of St. Bertin and St. Omer was held by Hugo, brother of the emperor Ludwig, and archnotary of the sacred palace—and that he had previously been abbat of St. Quentin.

[6] It may be said 'If Sigeric brought this book, why did it not go with his other books to Christ Church, instead of remaining at St. Augustine's ?' Well, I take it that, strictly speaking, a Benedictine monk had no private property ; that whatever books he brought to St. Augustine's were a gift to it from Glastonbury ; and that the books he bequeathed to Christ Church were only such as he had collected after leaving St. Augustine's, during his bishopric and archbishopric.

SECTION 11. The funeral-antiphons on ff. 47-49 seem early 11th cent.[1] So *very* regular and graceful a specimen of the continental hand is far more likely to have been produced at Canterbury, which was in constant communication with the great monasteries of North France, than at the remote abbey of Glastonbury. The first 8 of the antiphons belong to a series, of various constructional types, which began with successive letters of the alphabet: these begin with A-H., and invoke (A) Jesus and the patriarchs, (B) the prophets, (C) the apostles, (D) the martyrs, (E) the confessors, (F) the virgins, (H) Mary and Benedict. St. Augustine's was, I have already said, Benedictine, and its cemetery lay between its earliest church and its church of Mary. Dreves, who knows no other copy, has printed the first 3 in his *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (xi, p. 29): he has not noticed the evidences of connexion with Canterbury.

The music of the antiphons has no 'Romanian' letters, nor do I see any episemes. The neums are of late 10th or early 11th cent. English type, very like those of our Winchester troper.

The sequence in honour of the Virgin, on f. 49ᵛ, written either in the late 11th cent. (as I believe) or in the very early 12th cent., has 'Romanian' letters, including the combinations *lm* and *lf* to which Mr. Bannister has called my attention.

Of the music by two parts in contrary motion, on f. 49ᵛ, I give a transcription:—

h gfg. hkln· hkl kh·hzgf gh· h kl kl kh· hg fgh
h hhg. hgȝf hgf gh kȝzh zh· *lg* hf gh gh chh zhh·
Vt tuo propıtı atuſ tuſ ınter uentu domı nuſ

ðeðf kz k ˡzln· gklmlklh· fg h· fg· e*lg*f ece· ðcðe· fhcklkh
ghgf gh h kgf· ghghhzhh· hz h· hg· hgh gfe· fg'ge· fððfgh·
noſ pur ga toſ apeccatiſ ıungat ce lı cıuı buſ

The writer penned the lower line of each row of letters first—that I accordingly presume to be the 'principal' or 'tenor'. This is shown by his having had to narrow and distort each upper line (the 'organum' or 'descant') to avoid running into the lower. Hence the two parts are not written in as exact correspondence as that in which they are here printed, but I believe the transcript faithfully represents the writer's intention. In l. 2 there is a mark after the first 'zh' which I take to be only part of a long pen-scratch, and not a *b quadratum* nor yet the neum called *ancus*. Mr. Bannister tells me that the z itself = i *flat* = *b* flat, and agrees that it is probably a sloping i[2] tagged at top and bottom. The sign following the second *g* in l 2 is, he tells me, an *oriscus*, which repeats the preceding note. He agrees with Mr. Briggs as to the lengthening power of the dots, and points out that they only occur when the two voices unite on the same note (or its octave) at the end of a phrase. He also thinks it very unlikely that the two voices sang an unequal number of notes, and suggests that in the last phrase of l. 2 *ch* is only a modified *h*, and in the last phrase of l. 4 *ck* only a modified *k*. In l. 4 the *i* above the line is taken by Mr. Bannister to be a correction of the z (*i* natural for *i* flat). In ll. 2, 4, what I have printed as *lg* form a single character, which in the former case might be read *lg* or *bg*. Mr. Bannister would read them in each case as a correction from *g* to *h*, and in l. 4 I agree that this may be so.

[1] They have some resemblance to MS. Bodley 577, a MS. of Aldhelm, written in England, which I attribute to the latter half of the 10th cent., but are of somewhat later type. There is a very strong tendency to give marked upward turns to the bottoms of letters, and a slight tendency to tag the tops of tall letters. If it were safe—which it is not—to compare MSS. of different scriptoria as if they were from the same scriptorium, one would say that the tagging makes this writing probably later than part C. of MS. Bodley 775, which part, as we shall see further on, cannot have been written before 998. Let me add that, as Villemarqué has pointed out, part of the original MS. has been erased to make room for the antiphons. If this was done at Canterbury, it does not seem to me likely to have been done in Sigeric's life, or for some little time after his death, which happened in 994. There is at foot of f. 48ᵛ an omitted passage supplied which I should not date before the last third of the 11th cent., and that suggests that at least one other MS. of these antiphons existed at St. Augustine's. A 12th cent alternative text on the margin of f. 49 might, however, be a new composition, and not copied from an older MS.

[2] I have since found sloping *i* in pl. 2 of the Rev. W. H. Frere's *Bibliotheca Musico-liturgica*, representing a leaf of an Antiphonal of Hereford use noted in alphabetical notation, which is in the Chapter library, and said to be of the 10th or more probably 11th cent. I am sure that the page photographed is not as early as 1040, and assign it to the late 11th cent. at earliest: I believe it to be of the 12th.

§ 12. And now I must crave indulgence to write at some length about the celebrated **MS. Bodley 775**[1]— **SECTION 12.**
partly on account of its immense musical importance, and partly because of the entire inadequacy of such accounts of it as I have seen.

The contents of this volume, apart from some obviously later additions, consist of three separate MSS.[2] bound up together:—

A. THE WINCHESTER TROPER—a book of Tropes, Alleluias, &c., accompanied by neums[3], ff. 8—121^{v}.

B. THE WINCHESTER SEQUENTIARY—a book of Sequences (Alleluias with neums for the word and its jubilees), ff. 122—129.

C. THE WINCHESTER PROSER—a book of Proses, accompanied by neums[3], ff. 136—182^{v}.

Now the text of A. and C. is written by the same man, and that of B. by a different man: this is a fact I have not seen stated. And another fact I have not seen stated is that B. is some generation or half-century later than A. and C.

The contents of the volume show that it is a Winchester book, and both the hands (A. C. and B.) are typical Winchester hands.

The age of A. is fixed between the years 979 and 1016 by the fact that on f. 18^{v} there is a prayer for King Æthelred and the army of the English; but a careful comparison of it with the hand of five other MSS.[4] written by scribes of the Winchester school does not show the precise period of the reign. A greatly increased use of the hyphen makes it certain that C. was written after A[5].

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[1] No doubt given in 1612 by William Harwood, prebendary of Winchester. He presented 12 MSS., of which two have not hitherto been identified. One of these two is called 'Breuiarium, MS. fo.', and I think it to be the present volume, which was originally placed on the shelves between two of the MSS. undoubtedly given by Harwood.

[2] The reader who wishes to see facsimiles will find the three main sections represented in the following:—

A. f. 18^{v} (the page containing the prayer for Æthelred) in the *Palaeographical Society*, ii., pl. 111, and *Archaeologia*, xlvi., pl. xviii.
f. 19 in *Archaeologia*, xlvi., pl. xviii.
f. 63 in *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages* (by H. B. Briggs, *Plain Song Society*), pl. 2.
ff. 71^{v}, 72 in *Archaeologia*, xlvi., pl. xix.

B. ff. 122, 122^{v}, 123 in Frere's *Winchester Troper*, plates 1—3.

C. ff. 139^{v}, 140 in *Archaeologia*, xlvi., pl. xxi. The notation on red-line staves is written over original neums, which are erased.

Ff. 132^{v}, 133, additional matter by another hand, are represented in *Archaeologia*, xlvi., pl. xx. The notation on red-line staves is written over original neums, which are erased.

The plates in *Archaeologia* accompany a paper by Chappell.

[3] The neums in A. C. have been put in—whether or not by other scribes—in a different ink from the text.

[4] One is Æthelwold's benedictional (in facsimile): this was certainly written for Winchester Cathedral not later than 984, and probably not before Swithun's translation in 971. Another is 'the Jumièges benedictional' (in facsimile): it was written not for the Cathedral (Old Minster), but for the New Minster, and the absence of a benediction for St. Æthelwold's day satisfies me that it was written before the elevation of his body in 998. The third is 'the Jumièges missal' (in facsimile): its dated tables begin with the 28-year solar cycle which commenced in 1000, and, from its inclusion of Florentinus in the Litany *pro infirmis* and omission of an obit for Æthelred, I believe it to have been written in 1013-6. The fourth MS. (in facsimile) is that of Trinity College, Cambridge, numbered B. 10. 4, and believed to be by the same scribe as 'the Jumièges missal.' The fifth MS. is MS. Douce 296, written *for* Peterborough but very possibly *at* Winchester Old Minster: I have been able to date it between the Easters of 1037 and 1038. The hand A.C. looks earlier than that of MS. Douce 296, and very near to that of 'the Jumièges benedictional.' In some respects it looks later than that of the scribe of 'the Jumièges missal,' but so does the hand of the benedictional: the scribe of 'the Jumièges missal,' indeed, was somewhat archaic in style, as is shown in the frequency with which he writes *æ* for *a*.

[5] I am not aware that in dated Western MSS. a hyphen has been found earlier than the 11th cent., and the earliest dated instance I remember is in the facsimile of a charter of 1031 (MS. Cotton, Augustus II., 69, *Anc. charters in the Brit. Museum*, iv.)—assuming it not to be a later insertion. The following particulars of its use in A. B. C. will be instructive:—

It is found twice in the rubrics of A. (ff. 9^{v}, 74^{v}) and in each case is *repeated* at the beginning of the next line. In the latter case there is no divided word, but two distinct words IMPIA- -MUNDI.

It is found 14 times in the text of A. (ff. 8 [*repeated*], 9^{v}, 10^{v}, 14, 39^{v}, 53, 60^{v}, 65, 67^{v} [twice], 72 [*repeated*, twice], 108^{v}, 120). An instance (*repeated*) at foot of f. 103 is by a later hand.

It is found 61 times in the text of C. (twice on ff. 143^{v}, 148^{v}, 150^{v}, 153^{v}, 165^{v}, thrice on ff. 161^{v}, 167^{v}, 174, four times on f. 160, and once [*repeated*] in an alteration by a later hand at foot of f. 164^{v}).

In fact it occurs in A. once in every 14 pp., and in C. nearly once in every 1½ pp.—or 9 times as often.

B. has hardly any text, and only three cases in which a word is divided between two lines: in one of those three the hyphen is used (f. 126^{v}).

In A. C. the hyphens often correspond better with the ink of the neums than with that of the text. How far this may be due to lightness of stroke, and how far to their being added at the same time with the neums, I do not investigate, as it is morally certain that the neums were added as soon as the text was finished. The fact that the hyphens are generally single but occasionally repeated suggests that more than one hand was concerned in their insertion.

SECTION 12.

The writer of A. left some blank pages at the end, and on these the writer of B. began his book of Sequences. What stamps him as a writer of a later period is the fact that in words to some of his sequences he splits or notches the tops of a large number of his tall letters, such as *d*. If he were writing the *native* hand, that would be right enough for the early 11th cent.—or, indeed, for the middle of the 8th. But he is writing the *continental* 'Caroline minuscule' hand, and in *that* hand I find no instance of this habit of splitting strokes which can be dated so early as 1040[1]. I place B., without hesitation, after 1040, and it might be a generation later still. That it is later than A. is also evident from its commemorating Æthelwold.

I shall, however, try to fix the dates of A. and C. more nearly, and also to ascertain the sources from which they were derived, by an examination of their contents.

In A., the Winchester Troper, the first thing that arrests our attention is the remarkable selection of saints in the 3 litanies ('septene,' 'quine,' and 'terne', for Holy Saturday) on ff. 18, 18v:—

	1st litany (septene)		*2nd litany* (quine)		*3rd litany* (terne)	
	Christ		Christ		Christ	
	Mary		Mary		Mary	
(*Archangels*)	Michael		Gabriel		Raphael	3
(*Apostles*)	Peter					
	Paul	7	James	5	John	
	Andrew					
(*Martyrs*)	Stephen		Laurence			
(*Confessors*)	Hilary		Martin			
	All Saints		All Saints		All Saints	

Of the 3 non-Biblical saints, none has the slightest connexion with England. Two of them were special saints of the neighbouring French cities of Poitiers (Hilary) and Tours (Martin), and those two were not merely contemporaries and friends but master (Hilary) and pupil (Martin). The third, Laurence, a Roman martyr of A.D. 258, is (next to Stephen) the most universally celebrated martyr of the Western Church, and his presence has not necessarily any local significance: if the 'confessor' Martin was to be inserted in the 2nd litany, it was proper that he should be preceded by a martyr, and no name would everywhere be so likely to be selected as that of Laurence.

Had these litanies been copied from a regular Winchester litany of the date when A. was written, they would certainly have contained the names of St. Birinus[2], the founder of the see, who was 'translated' in 668, and St. Swithun, who was 'translated' in 971. And, had they been copied from a Winchester litany anterior to the translation of Swithun, they would still have been certain to contain Birinus. It is obvious, then, that their *source* is not Winchester itself, and becomes probable that it is Poitiers or Tours.

[1] *Palæographical Society*, pl. 61, is an instance, from a MS. written in Belgium, apparently in 1049. In Part iv. of *Ancient Charters in the British Museum* there are also three plates which exhibit tall Caroline letters with split tops: they are all from charters in the Cotton MS., Augustus II., numbered 68, 59, 58, and are attributed respectively to the years 1042-4, 1044, and 1045—indeed, the last two are dated. I have no time to investigate the genuineness of the first two or the question whether, if genuine, they are originals or copies; but I am practically certain that the third is one of the series of forgeries known to have been perpetrated by the monks of Westminster, and I find that in 1802 Planta, in his catalogue of the Cottonian MSS., describes it as 'dubious', while Sir E. A. Bond and Sir E. Maunde Thompson have agreed (see the preface to Part iv.) that its genuineness is 'doubtful'.

Reusens, indeed, has attributed to '1034 environ' a continental MS. with similar split tops (*Éléments de Paléographie*, pl. xxi.), but it appears that the only evidence for such dating is a note written more than 400 years later, in 1450 (p. 187, note 1).

[2] These litanies are copied again from a Winchester source in the Irish gradual, MS. Rawlinson C. 892, which we shall come to later. But by that time the Winchester priests had added Birinus to the terne litany, though in so doing they raised the number of saints to 4. As in the Winchester septene, quine, terne litanies, each invocation is directed to be sung 7, 5, and 3 times respectively, Mr. Bannister would derive the names 'septene', 'quine', 'terne', from this fact and not from the number of saints in each. But, however that may be, cannot regard the coincidence between the numbers of saints and the numbers of the repetitions as accidental.

Passing from the litanies to the tropes and verses of A., we find the following extra-Biblical saints commemorated. Agnes, miscopied as Agatha[1] (f. 38^v = Jan. 21), Vincent (*ib.* = Jan. 22), Agatha (f. 40 = Feb. 5), Gregory (f. 40^v = Mar. 12), Benedict (*ib.* = Mar. 21), Swithun[2] ('depositio', f. 46 = July 2, and 'translatio', f. 47 = July 15), Laurence (f. 48 = Aug. 10), Justus, martyr (f. 52^v = Oct. 18), Martin ('dedicatio', f. 55^v = Nov. 11 ?), Cecilia (f. 56^v = Nov. 22), Clement (*ib.* = Nov. 23), and Byrinus (f. 58^v = Dec. 3)—to which must be added the dedication of the church of the holy apostles Peter and Paul at Winton a. d. VIII, kal. Dec. = Nov. 24 (f. 56^v). SECTION 12.

Here the Winchester stamp is plain, but it is noticeable that no British saints except the two Winchester ones are included, and the inclusion of Justus in so select a company is apparently due to the fact, pointed out to me by Mr. Bannister, that the head of St. Justus, martyr, was given to Winchester[3] by Æthelstan (Winchester Chronicle, *Rolls ser.*, p. 10).

A more remarkable feature, however, are the tropes (f. 55^v) headed TROPI INDEDICAT̄ SCĪ MARTINI EPĪ. They come where St. Martin's day would naturally come, but you do not 'dedicate' a saint—only a church. The feasts known as 'Dedicatio Sanctae Mariae ad martyres' (May 13) and 'Dedicatio Sanctae Mariae ad nives' (Aug. 5) are dedications of *churches* of St. Mary. Consequently 'dedicat*ione* ſanct*i* Martini ep*iscopi*' ought to mean the dedication of a *church* of St. Martin, and the one that naturally suggests itself is the great basilica of St. Martin in a suburb of Tours[4]. But both the new basilica erected about 1008 and that which preceded it were dedicated on July 4 (Radulfus Glaber, iii. c. iv.); how then should these tropes be found in a position proper not to July 4 but to St. Martin's day in November? And is not the addition of 'episcopi' in the title of a church unnatural?

Well, just outside Tours there were *two* communities called St. Martin. The first was founded by Martin, about 1½ mile from the town, and came to be known as *Maius monasterium*, whence—or rather from the locative Maiore monasterio—is derived its later name Marmoutier. The second was that of the basilica erected over Martin's sepulchre. As early as about 674 this congregation was Benedictine, but the Benedictines were superseded by Canons about 800: under either rule, however, it claimed to be subject to a *bishop* of its own[5], and this claim was only extinguished in 1096 by the formal merging of the bishopric in the archbishopric of Tours. Consequently at the time when these tropes were written it would be quite proper to style this community and its basilica *S. Martinus Episcopi*, 'Bishop's St. Martin', to distinguish it from *S. Martinus Maioris-Monasterii*, as the older house is called in a document of 989, and perhaps also from St. Martin 'de la bazoche' inside the city itself. Compare the many English place-names to which 'Bishop's' or 'Bishop' is appended or prefixed, and the cases of Huish-Champflower and Huish Episcopi, in Somerset, of Wyke Ufford and Wyke Episcopi in Suffolk, and Wick and Wick Episcopi in Worcestershire, in which the Latin charter-form is still preserved.

That being so, I used to explain the appearance of the tropes in November instead of July by supposing that the same tropes were used on both feasts of St. Martin. They would then be only written in full for the July feast. The Winchester scribe would not copy them for the July feast because the Winchester monks would not want to celebrate the dedication of the Tours church, but only that of their own. They *would* want to celebrate the 'Natale Sancti Martini' in November; but when the copyist got to that point he might find a

[1] 'Agathe', in the genitive.

[2] In both commemorations he is called *patronus*. The congregation also are called 'tuos alumpnos' (f. 46) and 'Grex tuus' (f. 46^v).

[3] While I am correcting my proofs, Mr. Bannister has found at the beginning of MS. Selden supra 36, folded up as flyleaves, part of a leaf of an office of this saint, which must, he says, have belonged to a large Winchester Antiphoner. I have had it taken out, unfolded, and bound and referenced as *MS. Selden supra* 36^*. I attribute it to the last third of the 11th cent. or beginning of the 12th—preferably the former period.

[4] This must not be confused with the urban church of 'S. Martinus de Basilica' (*St. Martin de la basoche*), whither the body of the saint was transferred for a time till his own basilica was put in a proper state of defense against the Normans. It is not certain whether that church owed its title 'de basilica' to this fact or whether it was near an old Roman basilica.

[5] The latest work dealing with this claim is probably *La Collégiale de Saint-Martin de Tours des Origines à l'Avènement des Valois*, by the Abbé E. R. Laucelle, which I have to thank Mr. Bannister for recalling to my notice.

SECTION 12. direction 'Require in dedicatione Sancti Martini Episcopi' and copy the July tropes. He might then, *in accordance with his custom*[1], leave the pages of his exemplar open for the rubricator to copy the rubrication of the tropes, but forget to tell him to alter their heading. I may add that the rubricator was apparently a very careless man. I have already pointed out an error of *Agathe* for *Agnetis*, and in the headings of the Holy Saturday litanies we have another: that for the quine litany is prefixed to the septene, instead of being written in the line which the scribe had left blank for it at the bottom of the page. Nay, if he is the man who added the coloured initials (as one naturally assumes) in this very office for St. Martin's Day, within a space of 3 lines he has written one initial wrong and left out another (f. 56, ll. 7, 9).

Mr. Bannister pronounced this explanation impossible, because the office contains the introit *Statuit ei*, which is used for a Confessor but not for a Dedication. Well, the dedication-day of the 10th cent. Martinian basilica was the day of Martin's translation; so that tropes and introits in honour of Martin the Confessor would be entirely in place in an office for that day. And I thought there might have been special dedication-tropes as well. This, however, Mr. Bannister refuses to allow. He says that, when a day has two liturgical qualifications, it only receives tropes for one, and asks me whether July 4 was troped as the Translation or as the Dedication. If I am to be impaled on one of those two horns, I unhesitatingly choose the Translation, for decisive reasons which will presently appear: and I must then admit it to be very unlikely that the day would have been referred to in the same volume as the Dedication. But I should like to feel sure that at so early a date the practice which forbad the same day to be troped in different aspects was a cast-iron one. Moreover, the case of the basilica was exceptional: it was built *as* a shrine rather than anything else, and Gregory of Tours writes 'Sollempnitas . . . ipsius basilicae triplici virtute pollet: id est dedicatione templi, translatione corporis sancti vel ordinatione eius episcopati. Hanc enim 4. Nonas Iulias observabis; depositionem vero eius 3. Idus Novembris esse cognoscas'.

On *reading* the tropes, one finds on f. 56 the line 'Grex tuuſ[2] martıne petıt memorare tuorum'; and it is practically certain that no congregation would call itself Martin's flock except the congregation of a church dedicated to him[3]. This trope, then, comes originally from a foundation dedicated to St. Martin, and it is remarkable that the tropes for the Deposition of St. Swithun are to a large extent identical. For instance, the line 'Grex tuus' is the same, with the necessary variation 'ſuuıthune' for 'martıne', and in the Martinian trope on f. 56v the beginnings only of passages are quoted, and we are told to look back for the rest to the *Natale*[4] of St. Swithun.

It is worth mentioning that this title of *grex Sancti Martini* is known to have been applied to the basilica of St. Martin outside Tours. For in the alleged bull of Pope Hadrian I., in 786, giving it power to elect its own bishop (*Gallia Christiana*, XIV., Instr. 8) we have 'gregis S. Martini', 'idem grex', 'in suprafato grege'. And in a charter of Charles the Simple (*ib.* 55), in 920, the terms 'gregis... B. Martini', 'grex B. Martini', are also found in reference to it. But the use of 'S. Salvatoris grex' (*ib.* 60) of a church of St. Saviour shows that the term 'grex S. Martini' might be used of any community under the patronage of Martin.

Now the office for St. Martin's day with the perplexing 'Dedication' title ends thus:—

'Hoſ ınter · rq̃ ın natł Scī ſpıþunı · Quam bene letatur · rq̃ ıbıdem · '—so that for the full words of each of these two tropes we are referred to the office for the Natale of Swithun. But that office, and the one which follows it, for Swithun's Translation, occupy exactly the position which would have been occupied by an office for the

[1] This is shown by the total absence of 'guides' to the rubricator in the margins of A., though there are abundant relics of them on the margins of C., the text of which was written by the same scribe. The rubrication, and addition of coloured initials, in A., was executed after the text had been written and the music added.

[2] The metre requires the addition of 'hic' or 'o'.

[3] And so in the St. Magloire tropes (Frere, *Winchester Troper*, 152), 'grex tuus [hic]' was changed to 'Contio hęc', though the change violated the metre.

[4] *Natale* is the day of death (as if the day of second birth). Another name is *Depositio*, i.e., the laying down of the flesh.

Translation of Martin, *which was also the dedication-day of the Martinian basilica*, and I contend that they are simply made up out of such an office[1]. If that office contained the trope 'Gemma dei martinuſ', repeated on the day of Martin's Depositio in November, and if the Tours exemplar which the first Winchester scribe copied began its November office for Martin's day very much as follows:— **SECTION 12.**

TROPI IN DEPOSITIONE SCĪ MARTINI EPĪ· rqr̄ in Dedicatione

Gemma · rqr̄ in dedicatione

the Winchester clerics, having dropped out this trope from their Swithun offices, would *have* to write it in full for Martin's Depositio in November, but the rubricator catching sight in the Tours exemplar of *dedicatione* immediately under *depositione* might accidentally substitute that word.

If, however, Mr. Bannister's argument against my former explanation is fatal, it is equally fatal to this. I can only say that the word used by the rubricator is impossible, and that I should gladly welcome any other explanation which did not do violence to probability.

On ff. 76-87ᵛ is a collection of 107 Alleluias[2] 'PER ANNI CIRCULUM', with their accompanying 'verses' (see further at p. xxxviii). This is part of A., and must not be confounded with the Alleluias and their 'sequences' further on in the volume by the later hand B. I find that in the text of these 'verses' only 2 non-Biblical saints are mentioned: one is Laurence (f. 83ᵛ), the other is Martin (f. 87)! And the words of the latter 'verse' leave me in no doubt that it originates at Tours itself. They are:—'Beatuſ uir Sanctuſ martinuſ urbiſ turoniſ requieſcit quem ſuſceperunt angeli atque archangeli throni et dominationeſ & uirtuteſ'. I hold that they originate in the very community in whose charge the saint's body rested[3]. There is, indeed, a charter of Karl the Great executed in their monastery on June 3, 800, which ends 'Actum Turonis in civitate, in monasterio Sancti Martini, ubi ipse corpore requiescit' (*Mém. de la Soc. arch. de Touraine*, xvii, 470). And the absence of any commemoration of St. Germanus of Auxerre in any part of the Troper (though there is one in the Proser) raises the question whether the bulk of the music of A. is not earlier than the years immediately before 886—years during which Martin's body lay for a time in St. Germanus's church at Auxerre; see below, p. xxxix.

I next made a list of the beginnings of the tropes of the Proprium Sanctorum and looked them out in Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum* and its supplement. I found that by far the greater number did not occur in

[1] Very striking is the evidence of the first trope for Swithun's Translation, printed in *Analecta hymn. med. aev.* xlix, 132. Outside the two copies of the Winchester Troper, it is only known in 9 MSS., 8 of which use it for Martin, while the remaining one, which uses it for any Confessor, is a St. Magloire MS. of Paris, belonging to a foundation with special Breton connexions—and Tours, as I have said elsewhere, was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Brittany.

Moreover, the trope *Divini fuerat* used for that Translation is found only in MSS. which I refer to below as belonging to or in touch with Martinian foundations, and of the various Confessors on whose day it was sung, Martin is much the most frequent: see *Analecta hymn. med. aev.* xlix, 161.

I even suspect that the day of Swithun's death (for which we seem to have no authority earlier than Florence of Worcester) may have been invented, and that the day of his Translation was arranged, so as to fit in with the Translation of Martin in the Tours book.

My suspicions are confirmed by a fact pointed out to me (though not with any such object) by Mr. Bannister—that the office for the Translation of Swithun (July 15), which follows that for his Deposition (July 2), is in point of time posterior to that of the Octave of Peter and Paul (July 6), which here comes after it! The position would have been right for the Translation of *Martin*.

If it be asked why the Deposition of Swithun could not have been *arranged* for July 1st (the day after the Natale of Paul) and his Translation for July 5th? I reply that that would not have given room for an Octave of the Deposition before the Translation was celebrated.

I also call attention to the trifling fact that in the heading of the tropes for the Translation the name of the saint (Swithun) was not originally given, but is added in a different alphabet. Of course this may be due merely to the fact that the name was implied by the preceding heading (for Swithun's Deposition).

[2] Counted by Frere, who gives their cues (*Winchester Troper*, pp. 88-92), as 108, after which are additions by later hands. Mr. Bannister tells me that no. 103 in that list is a second verse of no. 102.

[3] The Rev. H. M. Bannister points out that they are referred to on f. 38ᵛ of MS. Palat. 235 in the Vatican—in an anonymous musical treatise. The first four words are quoted, and the melody is described in terms which, Mr. Bannister says, suit the Winchester photograph. The photograph shown me suggests that the writing is late 10th or early 11th cent.

SECTION 12.

it at all—which seemed natural if, as I imagine, no Tours troper is known to exist. Of the remainder—some twenty or so—all except one or two are found in the troper attributed by Daux to the Abbey of St. Martin at Montauriol, but which, after Mr. Bannister, I believe to have been written for the church of St. Martin at Moissac: *so far as was stated by Chevalier, they were not known to occur outside that and our Winchester book.* And, since the Moissac church existed at least as early as 868, I felt that it was not rash to lay down these conclusions:—

1. That A[1]. and the Moissac troper are both based on lost Tours tropers;

2. That the matter common to them formed a part of these lost tropers.

When, however, these facts and conclusions were put in writing, vol. xlix of the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, containing tropes to the *Proprium Missarum* edited by Clemens Blume, 1906, had not been published, and from the contents of it Mr. Bannister has very rightly challenged the validity of my judgement. He has gone through all the metrical or rimed tropes for Stephen, John, and Innocents—the first three saints in the Proprium Sanctorum—and does not find any of them peculiar to the Winchester Troper. There are 7 of these tropes, of which I had noted 2 as apparently unique. I have now gone into the case of those 7 again with Blume's book—which is based on a collation of 126 tropers, 41 being French, 34 German, 37 Italian, 10 English (including the 2 Winchester ones), and 4 Spanish. And this is the result.

Miles ouans hodie (f. 33ᵛ) is found only in a troper attributed to *St. Martin* at Limoges and one of St. Magloire at Paris, a foundation with *Breton* connexions (as its name indicates)—and Tours was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Brittany.

Qui primus meruit (f. 34) is found in the same two tropers; in 5 tropers of other Limoges foundations; in the 2 from Nevers, where was a foundation dedicated to *Martin;* in the Moissac troper; in a troper of Autun, close to which was a *Martinian* monastery dating from the 6th cent.; in a troper of St. Vaast, where a Count of Flanders who died in 1111 introduced monks of *St. Martin*, Tournai, a 7th cent. abbey whose first abbat came from the Maius Monasterium at *Tours.*

Ecce iam Iohannis (f. 35ᵛ) is found in 5 Limoges tropers, both Nevers, the St. Magloire, and the Moissac troper.

Also in the British Museum MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv, an 11th cent. English troper, the tropes of which are printed by Frere (*Winchester Troper*, 101-123). It tropes no non-Biblical saints except Benedict, Laurence, and *Martin*, and its special fondness for the latter is shown by the forcing of his name into the end of the line 'Inclitus hic rutilo celebremus stemate martine' (originally 'celebretur stemmate presul'?) in defiance of all metre.

Also in a Reichenau troper and the Bodleian Heidenheim troper (MS. Selden supra 27). Reichenau had in the 9th cent. fellowship (*societas*) with St. Germanus[2], to whose church Martin was removed for a period immediately preceding 885. The Heidenheim troper is based on one from Ebersberg, but Heidenheim itself was in the bishopric of Eichstädt, which is within the archdiocese of Mainz, of which Martin was patron.

Also in the Bodleian Novalesa troper (MS. Douce 222), written for the Novalesa or Novalesa-Breme community. The basilica of St. Martin outside Tours had N. Italian property, and the presence of its tropes in such a book might be due to the fact that Novalesa is on the Mt. Cenis route: its monastery would be the first at which a traveller would stop on crossing from Gaul and the last at which he could sleep before crossing homewards. It may be added that Breme was in the diocese of Pavia, *Martin's* earliest home.

Gratia celsa Dei is found in 2 Limoges tropers, the St. Magloire troper, and the St. Vaast troper. Also in MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv, and the Reichenau troper. Also in a troper of Mainz, of which *Martin* was patron;

[1] I believe the opening initial of A. to be copied from this Tours book.
[2] Mabillon (*Vet. analecta*, 1685, iv, 642).

one of Prum, partly dedicated to him; one of Metz, a suburb of which contained a 9th cent. Martinian foundation; and one of Epternach[1], which was in the diocese of Trier, a city of Martinian association and with a Martinian foundation. Also in a troper attributed to Bologna, where there was a Martinian church. Also in one of Monte Cassino: that abbey possessed two monasteries dedicated to Martin, but Mr. Bannister supplies a still more potent reason —that Benedict himself had founded a church of Martin on Monte Cassino in place of the temple of Apollo. **SECTION 12.**

Quod Domini carus is only in the St. Vaast troper, and MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv.

Dicite nunc pueri is in 7 Limoges tropers, the Autun, and the Moissac troper. Also in that of St. Benedict at Mantua and that of Piacenza. At Mantua there was a 9th cent. Martinian church: of Piacenza I can only say that it was connected by river with Breme, the headquarters of the Novalesa community, and was the next diocese to Pavia.

Laudibus alternis pueros is only in MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv.

It will be seen how very narrow is the range of circulation of the tropes tested, and that it is almost confined to foundations which themselves had a distinct Martinian association, or were in the way of borrowing from such foundations as had. Considering that the saints troped were in universal worship, that is very remarkable, and I have no doubt whatever that it points to Tours as the immediate source of this liturgical music.

When instead of Stephen, John and Innocents, one turns to Martin himself in Blume's book, the result is not less significant.

Gemma Dei, Martinus is found in the Winchester tropers, one Limoges, both Nevers, and the St. Magloire troper; MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv.; the Mainz and the Prum troper: but in no fresh ones except one attributed[2] to the 9th cent. monastery of St. Martin, Massay, and one of the abbey of St. Emmeran (who is said to have been once bishop of Poitiers), at Regensburg.

Martinus meritis is found in the Winchester tropers, 8 Limoges, both Nevers, the St. Magloire, the Moissac, and the Massay troper, and in MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv. Also in the Novalesa troper, that of St. Benedict at Mantua, and that attributed to Bologna.

Ecce dies magni is found in the Winchester tropers, 6 Limoges, the St. Magloire, the Moissac, and the Massay troper.

Hic Domini famulus is found in the *Oxford* Winchester troper, 5 Limoges, the Massay, the Autun, and the Moissac troper.

Blume gives 8 tropes for Martin *not* found in the Winchester tropers. Of these, one is found *only* at Limoges, 1 *only* at Autun, 2 *only* at Massay, 2 *only* at Limoges and Moissac, 1 *only* at Limoges, Moissac, and Massay, 1 *only* at Massay and Mainz.

With these results it is impossible for me to doubt that the basilica of St. Martin outside Tours was a great centre of musical composition, whence tropes not only for Martin but for other saints were obtained by Martinian foundations, and which from those foundations were borrowed by a few others in local contact or communication with them.

[1] Moreover, its first and third abbats were related to Alcuin (abbat of the Maius Monasterium at Tours), who wrote the life of the former (St. Willibrord).

[2] Mr. Bannister tells me he should no longer query this attribution.

SECTION II.

Let us next inquire how and when the Tours Troper reached Winchester. The Rev. H. A. Wilson has suggested to me that, as the Benedictine rule had been introduced at Winchester from Abingdon, and at Abingdon from Fleury, the Tours Troper came through Fleury.

From the Abingdon Chronicle it appears that the instruction from Fleury was obtained by Æthelwold, when abbat of Abingdon, sending to Fleury his own monk Osgar—who, on his return, taught the rest of the Abingdon community (*Rolls ser.* ed., I., 129). An Abingdon monk going to Fleury might very well pay a visit to the celebrated city of Tours, lower down on the same river[1].

The same chronicle adds that—when, hearing of Æthelwold's sanctity, very many men of God from different parts of England, instructed in a different manner of reading and singing, came together to him and were received—wishing them in church to rejoice to God with consonant voice (*volens eos in ecclesia consona Deo voce jubilare*) he sent for the most skilled men from the monastery of Corbie, which is situated in France, being at that time of the highest repute in ecclesiastical learning, whom his own people might imitate in reading and psalming (*psallendo*).[2] And it might be suggested that the troper copied for Winchester came from Corbie. But the Corbie monks would not be likely to bring to England any music-books save their own, and Corbie was not a 'flock of Martin': its three churches were dedicated respectively to Peter and Paul, John, and Stephen.

I find reason also in the Benedictional of Æthelwold to suspect the presence of Tours books at Winchester[3]. That contains *two* benedictions for the Natale of Martin, no other feast of a non-Biblical saint having more than one. And the second contains these words: 'Sit ipse confessor huius populi . assiduus custos . qui te uocante hodie penetrauit caelos' (printed text in *Archaeologia*, XXXIV. iii). A prayer that Martin should be the 'assiduous guardian of this people' surely originates at Tours.

But I very strongly suspect that the presence of Tours liturgical books at Winchester antedates the bishopric of Æthelwold, and should be assigned to the age of Æthelstan, who reigned in 925-40. Æthelstan had sisters married to the king of France and the duke of Paris, and one of these took refuge in England about 923, bringing her son, the future Louis IV., who did not return to France till 936. It is far from unlikely that to some of these royalties the church of Winchester—the home of the English court—owed its set of Tours service-books. Less likely but still possible sources would be the Breton refugee immigration of 919-36 (see later, p. liv) and the foreign mission of Æthelstan's relic-collectors, who brought back relics of Martin which he gave to the church of Exeter (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, II. 528-30).

I have already spoken of the tropes for the Deposition of Swithun, and have said that the first of the tropes for his *Translation* is an altered trope for Martin. And, since the translation of Swithun did not take place till 971, it is obvious that the Tours book, or a copy of it, was at Winchester at least as late as that year.

A. cannot, of course, be earlier than the Translation of Swithun in 971. In my opinion the absence of a trope for Æthelwold is morally conclusive that it was written before the elevation of Æthelwold's body in 998, from which the Bollandists no doubt rightly date his cultus. Moreover the tropes for the dedication of the church not only occupy the place which they should have occupied before (but not after) its re-dedication on Oct. 20, 980, but actually give the *date* of the dedication-day as VIII kal DECEMB = Nov. 24. The *place* of these tropes might be explained away by supposing them to have been copied from an older book. Even then it would be difficult for the scribe not to see that he was copying them out of place, and the natural course

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[1] The Troper cannot be a Fleury troper, or even a Tours troper adapted to Fleury (St. Benoît-sur-Loire): else we should have had Benedict in the litany and alleluias.

[2] Corbie *antiphons* were probably in part of Italian origin; for, in about 822, antiphoners were brought to it from Italy (*Gallia Christiana*, X. 1268).

[3] In the benediction for the Natale of Swithun the erroneous genitive *patronis* may be copied from the Tours feast of Martin's Natale, as the Moissac troper has *patronis* in its first trope for the latter day.

would have been to relegate them to the end—a position which the dedication-service often occupies. Again, the *date* of the dedication-day can only be explained away by supposing either that the rubricator was not in the least thinking of what he was rubricating, or else that the old date was deliberately inserted to show why the tropes were out of place. There is the further difficulty that, if the tropes *were* out of place, a reference to show where they were to be found ought to have been inserted at the proper point. And the much more reasonable view to take is that the tropes are in their right place, and the dedication-day rightly dated—in other words, that A. was written before Oct. 20, 980. **SECTION 12.**

Since the writing of a book of this kind was unusually laborious (and, I fear, tedious), it is unlikely that copies would be produced at frequent intervals; and, since the Tours book, or a copy of it, must have been at Winchester at least as late as 971, I think it was probably there as late as 979-80, and that A. was transcribed from it direct, and not through an intermediate copy. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the opening initial, the large O on f. 8, is certainly taken, directly or indirectly, from a continental original.

Where did the music of A. *originate?*

Mr. Bannister tells me that there is no evidence that tropes were used in any Roman church before the 11th cent. Else I should have guessed that the music of A. came from Rome, and from St. John Lateran, Rome, because the list of saints troped is so select and unprovincial (not a single Gallican saint except Martin being included). St. John Lateran, because Gregory the Great established a school of singers at the Lateran Palace as well as at St. Peter's, and because A. contains at f. 71 the following trope which I print as given in full, with expanded cues, by Bannister and Blume (*Anal. hymn. med. aev.* xlvii., p. 233):

O gloria sanctorum lausque angelorum
quem secutus est sanctus Iohannes,
Laudamus te;

O decus et[1] virtus lausque beata sanctorum,
Quem benedicit sanctus Iohannes,
Benedicimus te;

Cantemus tibi laudes de pectore toto
Teque cum sancto adoremus Iohanne,
Adoramus te;

Angelicus tibi astat clarissimus ordo,
Cum quo te semper[2] glorificat sanctus Iohannes,
Glorificamus te—in gloria Dei patris.

It is to me beyond serious doubt that this trope was composed in honour of St. John the Evangelist *as patron.*

The facts about the propagation of this trope are well worth examination. It is in 22 tropers besides the Winchester ones, but only 8 of them lie outside the narrow circle of Martinian foundations and their local connexions, which I have already referred to as monopolising so many of the tropes of A. The remaining 16, in fact, are confined to Limoges, Nevers, Moissac, St. Magloire, St. Benedict at Mantua, and MS. Cotton, Caligula A. xiv. When we come to examine the additional 8, this is what we find.

[1] A. has *ac.*
[2] A. omits *semper.*

SECTION 12. St. Alban's furnishes 2 of them; and, as abbat Ælfric, once monk of Abingdon, eventually archbishop of Canterbury, in his life of Æthelwold describes himself as 'Wintoniensis alumnus', the presence of Winchester tropes at St. Alban's is at once accounted for.

Two are from Nonantula in N. Italy, the abbey of which possessed two Martinian churches as far back as the 8th cent.

Another is from Ivrea, on the Little St. Bernard route between the Canons of St. Martin's and their North Italian possessions.

A sixth is from Gerona, in Catalonia. Not only was an ancient Martinian church there (*España sagrada*, xlv. 212), which in the 9th cent. furnished dignitaries to the cathedral, but in 1019 a house of Canons was founded at Gerona (*ib.* xliii., 425) which was endowed with four Martinian churches and half the revenues of a 5th!

There remain only a troper of St. Evroul and one of Clermont. The St. Evroul book is of the 12th cent., and in 1060 the abbey had acquired the church of St. Martin at Séez.

For John we have *Mary* substituted in the Cotton MS., and in the tropers of St. Alban's and St. Evroul; *Peter* in those of Nonantula and that of St. Benedict at Mantua; *Stephen* in those of Gerona and Clermont; *Martin* in those of Nevers.

That the trope belongs to what I may call the Martinian connexion I am sure. And, being forbidden to look to St. John Lateran for it, I bethink myself at last of Tours! There I find a grant made in 954 by the rector of the chapel of St. John, *built within the cloister of St. Martin*[1]. For that chapel I have very little doubt that the Canons composed this trope.

So that we come back for our music to St. Martin after all. And I believe that the more the distribution of tropes and proses is investigated the more decisive will be the conclusion drawn that in the 9th and 10th centuries at least the Martinian basilica was a chief, if not the chief, Gallican centre for the composition of sacred music, and that to it not only French churches but many others beyond the confines of France owed a heavy acknowledgment.

As regards the set of 107 consecutive Alleluias on ff. 76-87ᵛ, I note (1) that it and the previous set are independent of each other, each containing some things which the other lacks, and (2) that in the second set the position of *Beatus vir Sanctus martinus*, &c., shows it to be an addition. Apparently the second set originally contained no special Alleluia for Martin at all, and the question arises whether this set was not copied by the community of his basilica outside Tours from the service-book of some other foundation[2].

I proceed next to the examination of C., the Winchester Proser.

It opens with a series[3] of proses for feasts beginning (f. 136) with the Nativity (Dec. 25) and ending (f. 159) with Birinus (Dec. 3), and the only non-Biblical saints commemorated in them besides Birinus[4] are

[1] *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. de Touraine*, xvii., 440.

[2] I observe that whereas in the large number of *Kyrie's* which occur in this part of the tropes that word always begins with a *k*, in the litany it is spelt with a *c*.

[3] A prose for the Nativity is found in a position (f. 139ᵛ) where it is obviously meant for the octave of the Nativity (the Circumcision). One for the Nativity of the Virgin is put out of place (f. 147) before that for St. John the Baptist because, Mr. Bannister tells me, it was sung to the tune of the latter: this is important as indicating that the Proser followed the order of a previously existing book of Alleluias (*of which we shall find part B. of the present MS. to be a copy*). Finally, a prose for the Assumption of the Virgin has had two others for her Annunciation tacked on to it (ff. 154, 154ᵛ).

[4] In the original Tours book there may have been a *second* prose for Martin, for which the Birinus prose was substituted.

Germanus (of Auxerre) and Martin. It is obvious that here we have the copy of another French book, with a Winchester saint added. And a little investigation will show that *that* book also came from Tours. **SECTION 12.**

The prose for Martin (f. 158) contains the following passage, which I print as arranged by Mr. Bannister in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* XL, 252. It relates to the saint's death:

7a. Tonante protinus nam vulgo tali praeconio, lamentans monachica	7b. Atque virginea caterva voce proruperat lacrimosa talia:
8a. „O pastor, hanc catervam cui committis nunc exiguam, caeli scandens patriam?	8b. Invadent enim illam rapacum luporum mordentia plurimorum agmina."
9a. Inter talia sed sanctus verba caeli conscendit alta fulgida comptus victoria;	9b. Hicque modica contentus vita Abrahae patriarchae mansitat sinu per saecula.

This lament, put in the mouths of the *caterva* of Martin (i.e., of the community[1] of the monastery he founded) looks very much as if written by a Tours Canon in the period shortly preceding 885, when the Canons of St. Martin outside Tours and of St. Martin's own monastery, in dread of Norman irruption, took the saint's body from his sepulchre in the basilica of the former house and carried him to safer places. Mr. Bannister, indeed, finds that the words of the 'monachica atque virginea caterva' are closely adapted from words said by Sulpicius Severus, writing in the 5th cent., to have been addressed to Martin when he announced to his disciples his approaching death (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xx 182). But no virgins are spoken of as uttering them, or as present[2], though in the description of Martin's funeral, after the gathering of some 2,000 monks had been mentioned, we hear of the 'virginum chorus'. The enemies whom Gaul had to fear at Martin's death having ceased to be enemies centuries before this prose was written, the recalling of these words at that period conveys to me the idea that they were written in view of a present distress. And the prose for St. Germanus (f. 155) certainly arises out of the Norman invasion. Martin's body was taken to Cormery, Orléans, Fleury, Chablis, *and ultimately Auxerre, where it was placed in the church of St. Germanus.* It was only brought back to the basilica of St. Martin in 885, after strong resistance on the part of the bishop of Auxerre.

As regards the exact date of this latter part of the troper, I call attention to the word *urbis*. We have already seen that in a charter of 800 the monastery is considered inside the *civitas*, although it was a considerable distance outside the walls: that is a quite correct use of *civitas*. But would it have been described as inside the *urbs*?

Now, although Martin's body came back from Auxerre to the basilica on Dec. 13, 885, the Canons were so afraid of the Normans that they transported it into the *town* of Tours, where it remained till May 12, 919, when it was brought back to its old home[3], now properly protected by fortification. Does this Alleluia refer to the repose of Martin inside the *town* of Tours? If so, presumably[4] the whole of the music which I have

[1] Apparently this was not a double community of monks and virgins. But the reference to virgins probably arises out of the fact that a nunnery was founded about the end of the 6th cent. at the basilica of St. Martin.

[2] It should be added that he died when travelling at a distance from his own monastery.

[3] See Vaucelle, pp. 94-5.

[4] Not quite *certainly*, because 'urbis Turonis' might conceivably be an alteration made at Winchester from an original 'hic in sepulcro' or the like.

SECTION 12. supposed to be borrowed from Rome is anterior to May 12, 919, and likewise the Troper proper, to which it is a supplement. Presumably also the exemplar brought over to Winchester was written between 885 and 919 which would agree perfectly with what I have already conjectured as to the period during which it came to Winchester.

This Germanus-prose calls for much further attention. To begin with, it is to my mind beyond doubt an adaptation of a prose for Martin. A version of it is printed by Dreves at p. 184 of the Proser of St. Martial, Limoges (*Analecta hymnica*, vii), and another at p. 133 of Misset and Weale's *Analecta liturgica*, *Prosae* I. 6 MSS. (from Winchester, Limoges, Autun, Langres) have 'Germanum', 1 (Limoges) 'Martinum', 2 (Nevers) 'Silvestrum', and 1 (Limoges) 'Marcialem et Martinum'. Dreves says that the name Martialis fits the metre, but that the other names do not: Mr. Bannister, however, says that the tune calls for a 3-syllable name, and that the 4-syllable word 'Artificis' in the antistrophe is wrong.

It is remarkable that in our Winchester Proser the rubric is ꝐSA [Prosa] · ADSQ̃ [ad sequentiam] · DESC̃O [de Sancto] followed by an erasure long enough to take about 18 letters, and then by ALLELUIA · ADANGELICA. It might be supposed that the erasure was over the name of one or more saints; but the first letter underneath it was undoubtedly A, the second was apparently N, and the top of a *tall* letter is visible a little further—so that it seems to me that the rubricator had written ANGELICA in the wrong place. The tops of 4 more tall strokes appear, and the whole passage erased may have been ANGELICA followed by UEL and some alternative name of the sequence[1].

It is also remarkable that the *name* of the saint is left out from the rubric, although the words 'de *Sancto*' show that it had once been there, and I take it that the prose was originally written for Martin, but altered to suit Germanus. And Mr. Bannister tells me that in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 1138 the first hand ascribes the prose to Martin, but that the name is altered to Germanus.

Whether or not this prose was originally meant for Martin, its composition by the community of the basilica of St. Martin outside Tours is evidenced by the following words: 'Germanum refultent caftra liquida fonora fimphonia', where *castra* is meant as a proper name—the suburb of Tours in which the basilica stood being called the *Castrum*[2] of St. Martin, while another suburb, the Castrum of Cainon, contained a monastery founded

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[1] The sequence *Angelica* was also known as *Nobilissima* (Frere) and *Romana* (Bannister), but these will not fit the ink-marks. It may be mentioned that almost the entire rubrication at the beginning of the previous prose is likewise over an erasure.

[2] From charters calendared in vol. xvii of the *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine*, I take the following instances: 931, 'In ipso Beati Martini Castro', 'in castro sancti Martini'; 932, 'in rudi castro Sancti Martini'; 937, 'in Castello Sancti Martini'; 954, 'castello novo' (= the modern name of it, Châteauneuf); 957. 966, 'in Castello Sancti Martini'. The 'bourg' in which the basilica stood had been destroyed by the Normans (in 853?), and about 878 the Canons were beginning to reconstruct the walls: in 906, however, they seem to have done nothing, and it is not till 918 that we know the new walls to have been finished. From that reconstruction arises the name 'castellum *novum*'. Was the old 'bourg' itself a Roman camp, and in the imaginary words which Sulpicius puts into the mouth of his master the dying Martin, 'si adhuc in eodem labore pro *castris tuorum* stare me præcipis' (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xx, 182), shall we some day mark that there is a various reading *castris Turonum*? If we do, *I* shall adopt it; but of course the existing text is good enough.

In de Grandmaison's *Tours archéologique*, at p. 30, is a plate which shows the relative situation of Châteauneuf and Tours in the 10th cent.

In the vol. of *Mémoires* above quoted is an astounding error against which, after my own narrow escape, I had better caution others. On p. 479 we have:—

> '80.—13 février. 883.—Bulle du pape Marin, qui concède au chapitre de Saint Martin le droit d'user du rite romain.
> Datum apud urbem veterem, Idibus februarii, pontificatus nostri anno 1°;
> Pap. Masson., *De Episc. Roman.*, f° 255, V°'.

Accordingly I turned to the work quoted; read the bull (in which the Pope, there called Martinus II., said that he himself had been a Canon of St. Martin); and was on the point of avowing my belief that the whole of the latter half of the Tours Troper consists of music sent from the Lateran in 883 by the ex-Canon who had become Pope. Fortunately, I looked to see what more was known of him, and speedily found that he was not crowned Pope till Mar. 23, 1281, and that consequently the date of the bull = Feb. 13, 1282. The explanation of the blunder in the *Mémoires* is that the Popes named Marinus were formerly mixed up with those named Martinus, and that Marinus I., who reigned in 883, was styled by some writers Martinus II., a designation properly belonging to the Pope of 1281. The last chronicler of the Tours basilica, the Abbé Vaucelle, has been less lucky than I, and has swallowed the bull as a 9th cent. document (p. 357). The date assigned in the *Mémoires* to the next one (81) is equally mistaken.

by one of Martin's disciples, Maximus. The copyists of the other MSS. in which the prose occurs have altered it[1] to *astra* or *casta* or *lira*, with the exception of one: and in the single other case where *castra* is retained the prose is headed as one for *Martin*. And it is clear to me that the use of a prose for Germanus by the community of the basilica was due to the fact that the body of their own saint was, or had been, sheltered in Germanus's own basilica at Auxerre. The feast for which the prose was meant was apparently the Auxerre celebration of the 'corporis receptio', Sept. 22[2]. SECTION 12.

I have already pointed out that the troper of St. Martin's, Moissac (the so-called Mons Aureolus troper), was based on a Tours book. I now see that the corresponding Moissac proser had in part a like origin. For one of its proses for the dedication of the church begins 'Castrorum proles dedicativa Jam epitalamia reciprocata recolat sollemnia', where I take *Castrorum* to be the name of the Tours suburb: also the words 'juxta castra' occur in the body of it. The same prose is found in various other MSS. (see Chevalier's 'Repertorium'), sometimes with the alteration *Castorum*. Let me add that both the Moissac proses for Martin introduce the name of Tours itself ('Turonorum'), and that one of them contains the lines

> Pangit clerus concioque fidelis (h)ore simul et mente debita.
> Circumstancium castra adsistens ante sacra baptismatis flumina

—where it is clear that we are to construe 'concioque fidelis circumstancium Castra'.

To my mind our Germanus-prose in C. indicates that the series in which it comes is earlier than 886. The community of Martin would not wait to celebrate the hospitality of Auxerre till they had got their own saint back from Auxerre in 885, after a struggle: they must have celebrated it while Martin's body was still there. But the prose in which they did so was only an old prose altered, and it is natural to conjecture that the rest of the series is equally early.

After the point to which we have so far got in our Proser (namely, the end of a chronological series terminating with Martin) we have a series of additions. The first consists of a prose for the martyr Laurence (f. 159ᵛ), followed by 3 proses (ff. 160ᵛ, 161, 162) for Martyrs (more than one): then a prose (f. 163) probably meant for All Saints, to which is prefixed a prose for the Resurrection (f. 162ᵛ) sung to the same tune—another evidence that the Proser is written to follow the order of a pre-existing Sequentiary: then (f. 164) we have a prose meant either for All Saints or for Confessors (more than one). Then come 3 proses for Augustine (f. 164ᵛ), Atheluuold (f. 165), and Benedict (f. 166), and Mr. Bannister tells me that the tunes to which they are put were only used for Confessors. Then a prose for Virgins (f. 167). Then a number of proses (ff. 167ᵛ—174ᵛ) which Mr. Bannister says are for Sundays in Advent and Sundays after Pentecost. Then (f. 175) a prose for a Virgin; one for Virgins (f. 175ᵛ); the curious *Planctus cingi* (f. 176ᵛ), the use of which is not definable, and which I shall reproduce presently in full; one in honour of the Trinity (f. 177ᵛ); one for the Virgin (f. 178); one for John the Baptist (f. 179ᵛ); and one for All Saints (f. 180ᵛ). With this last the original Winchester Proser ends —the scribe leaving blank the lower third of f. 181ᵛ: but he has added a *trope* of 4 lines at top of the next page. Everything else from the bottom of f. 181ᵛ to the end of the volume has been added much later by different hands, as has the whole of the prose written (over erased original matter) on ff. 178ᵛ, 179.

I have no moral doubt that all this is reproduced from the Tours Proser with the exception of the prose for the Winchester saint, Æthelwold: even that may be altered from a Tours prose for another Confessor, perhaps Hilary. This prose for Æthelwold is the key to the date of the Winchester Proser. It can hardly have

[1] Other changes are *resultet*, *resultat*, *liquido sonore*, *symphoniam*. I construe the text as = *liquidā sonorā symphoniā*. The alterations may have been due either to ignorance of the local meaning of Castra, or to a feeling that the local name was out of place when the prose was sung elsewhere.

[2] Germanus died at Ravenna, and his body was brought thence to Auxerre. To this the prose refers in the words 'Plaudens gallia funus excipit ac inclita seruat in aula'.

SECTION 12. been written before 10 Sept., 998, when the elevation of Æthelwold's body took place—the ceremony which was equivalent to the 'canonization' of later times.

Something must be said about the prose for Augustine (f. 164v). The rubric does not state which Augustine is commemorated. At first sight St. Augustine of Hippo would seem to be clearly indicated by the words

Quem multiſ prefore ſacra fecit plebibuſ dei dextra·
Quo eiuſ dogma ſequenteſ poſſent ſcandere cæli celſa·

Here we have apparently the patron of so many congregations[1] of Canons, and the great doctor of the Church. And, as the basilica of St. Martin had a congregation of Canons, this prose looks like another link with Tours. But no mention of *Augustinian* Canons seems known before the end of the 11th cent., nor any mention of Augustine of Hippo as a patron of collegiate churches. And, as this prose is followed by one for Æthelwold, and that again by one for Benedict, it is reasonable to see in it a Winchester addition in honour of St. Augustine of Canterbury[2]. And it is possible that this addition may have been prompted by the elevation of a bishop of Winchester to the throne of Augustine—an event which took place in 793, 870, and 1005.

Finally, I come to B., the Winchester Sequentiary.

It is clear that C., the Tours-Winchester Proser, was arranged to fit a pre-existing Sequentiary, or book of prose-tunes. For in more than one case a prose has been inserted out of its order in the liturgical year because it was sung to the same tune as another.

And B. is doubtless a copy of the Tours Sequentiary in question.

The musical difference between the Proser and the Sequentiary is this. The Proser gives the tunes over the words, a single note over each syllable. The Sequentiary gives the tunes without any words, and compendiously written in *compound* neums, *not* separate neums for each syllable.

It may be asked why the Sequentiary should not have been compiled from the Proser.

The first reason is in the heading (f. 122). As this was originally composed, it was in Latin verses running as follows :—

HIC TIBI CANTORI SUNT CUNCTA SEQUENTIA PRESTO·
QUÆ CIRCLO ANNORŪ MODULANT̃ Ī ORDINE PULCHRO.

But the copyist was unaware of the intention of the composer of the verses, and wrote :—

HIC TIBI CANTORI SUNT CUNCTA
SEQUENTIA PRESTO· QUÆ CIRCULO
ANNORŪ MODULANT̃ ORDINE PULCHRO·

spoiling the metre by the change of *circlo* to *circulo* and omission of *in* before *ordine*. It is probable that the verses, being so erroneously copied, were not composed expressly for B., but were transcribed from an older MS.

[1] *Cf.* 'plebſ monaſtica', f. 167.

[2] See also p. xliv. for explanation of the order of these three commemorations. Judging from the second line quoted, 'multis plebibus' does not refer to the congregations of the many churches dedicated to Augustine, but to the conversion of Teutonic England which he began.

SECTION 12.

A third reason is that the names of tunes are continually longer in the Sequentiary (B.) than in the Proser (C.). This would be unnatural if B. were compiled from C. But, if the compiler of C. was working with a Tours Sequentiary (the original of B.) before him, it would be natural enough for him to abbreviate the titles of the tunes in it. The following are examples of these differences—which I print in ordinary type:—

	B. THE SEQUENTIARY	C. THE PROSER
2.	Beatus uir Stephanus	Beatus uir
3.	De Innocentium agminibus	De Innocentibus
9.	Pascha *nostrum*· Xp̃s est	Pascha nostrum
11.	Citharis organicisq*ue* D*eu*m modulemur ouanter	Cithara
12.	Benedicta sit maiestas D*omi*ni	[no title: begins 'Benedicta sit beata Trinitas']
23.	Letabitur iustus	Letabitur
27.	Lira pulchra	Lira
30.	Uia · lux · ueritas	Via lux
38.	Tuba u*el* Fistula	Tuba
45.	Bucca excelsa	Bucca
46.	Vaga· uaria·	Uaga
48.	Berta uetula	Berta
50.	Candidi planctus cigni	Planctus cingi

Again, for 42 the Sequentiary has *Laudent te pie*, but the Proser *Laudent te pia*. Here the corresponding Winchester MS. at Cambridge (MS. Corpus Christi Coll. 473) has *pie* both in the Sequences and in the Proser, so that it is presumably the correct reading. Let me add that the title of 44, *Tractus· iocularis*, cannot have been copied from the *Tractvs consona* of the Proser. Here *iocularis* is clearly the original name of the tune, but was thought improper for a sacred service-book and was consequently altered in the Proser to *consona*, the first word of the prose.

The Rev. W. H. Frere in his 'Winchester Troper' has given on pp. 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, a collection of the titles of the Sequences (col. 1), the titles of the Proses (col. 2), and the commencing words of the Proses (col. 3). He has, however, got a 'xxiv.' twice over in his list of the Sequences, so that their real number should be not 'l.' but 'li.', and the numbers which I have given above as 27, 30, 38, 45, 46, 48, 50 correspond with figures an unit lower in his list.

Mr. Frere has also given on the opposite pages 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, a similar concordance of the Cambridge MS. This concordance shows that the Christmas prose 'Cælica resonant' was sung to the sequence *Musa:* in both our own Sequentiary and Proser the title of the sequence has been omitted. It also shows that the sequence called *Chorus* had another name, *Bauuerisca*, a word (etymologically identical with our *boorish*) which clearly indicates a Germanic origin and rustic affinities.

As regards the date of our copy of the Sequentiary, I have already said that, owing to its having split tops to tall letters in the text of its proses, I cannot admit it to be so early as 1040, and I should consider that an English MS. containing this feature was not *likely* to be quite so early even as 1070.

SECTION 12.

I have since copied out in parallel columns the titles of the Sequentiary (B.) and the Proser (C.), and have done this in rough facsimile. One very striking difference presents itself. In the Proser 's' never rises above the neighbouring letters except as the initial of a line or of the title Sc̄s. But in the Sequentiary an overwhelming majority of S's rise above their surroundings, as ιuSτuS, dn̄S, εSτ. I do not find this feature in any of the following MSS., all of which have marks in their kalendars which point to their having been written in the years mentioned:—

MS. Douce 296—1037-8 (Peterborough, or Winchester, for Peterborough)

MS. D'Orville 45—1067-8 (Moissac)

MS. Hatton 113—1069-70 (Worcester)

It is, however, present in MS. Auct. F. 3. 6, which was certainly written before 1073, and at the end of EADUUEARDUS in the British Museum Cotton Charter VIII. 9, a grant, *or later copy of a grant*, made in 1045 to the bishop of Winchester. Nay, it is found at least 4 times in the rubrics of A., the Troper; and the rubrics in question[1] can hardly be supposed to have been written two or three generations after the body of the text. But the very first page of the Sequentiary has no fewer than 5 well-marked instances of the peculiarity.

The question remains whether our copy of the Sequentiary was made direct from the Tours book brought to Winchester in the 10th cent., or from an intermediate copy. Probably from the latter: I fancy the music would be sufficiently worn by use to require fresh copies to be made at moderately frequent intervals.

A singular difference exists between the Oxford and Cambridge copies as regards sequence 30, *Uia · lux · ueritas.* In the Cambridge MS. Swithun is the saint commemorated, in the Oxford MS. Aðeluuold, and the prose to this sequence in C. is also in honour of the latter. But the earlier Winchester use is undoubtedly preserved in the Cambridge MS.; for the position of the sequence in B. between one for St. Augustine (of Canterbury, May 26) and one for St. Benedict (commemorated on July 11) indicates that it was used for the *Depositio* of Swithun on July 2[2], and not for any of the days dedicated to Aethelwold (Ap. 21, Aug. 1, Sept. 10). And of course, at the time when the Tours Sequentiary was presumably first copied at Winchester, Aethelwold had not begun to be venerated. It is clear that a sequence and prose for Swithun were converted in C. and B. to the service of Aethelwold, but that when the Cambridge MS. was written they were restored to Swithun.

I have not seen the Cambridge MS., but conjecture it to be later than B.—partly on account of this reversion to Swithun; partly because, where the titles of the sequences differ in length, the Cambridge titles are ordinarily the shorter; and partly because in the first of the four proses the Cambridge MS. has *tribue* for B.'s *suscipe*, which latter Mr. Bannister tells me is universal.

The origin of the Tours Sequentiary, as it stands in B., I of course place earlier than 886, because the Proser is arranged to agree with it. And, because I place the main body of the Proser earlier than that year, I cannot help suspecting that the collection may be much earlier still. The title of it presents two very remarkable features:—(1) The sequences are said to be *all* the sequences of the year, yet there are only 51: indeed, we shall see that originally only 48 were written. (2) The *neuter plural* 'sequentia', = 'sequences', I have not met before. The regular form is 'sequentia' = a sequence, plural 'sequentiae' = 'sequences'. The neut. pl. may or may not have a substantive, such as *iubila*, understood, but in either case it suggests to me a time antecedent to that in which this species of composition had acquired its ordinary generic name. The

[1] See ff. 19, 21, 29, 49.

[2] Originally no doubt for the translation of Martin on July 4. See *ante*, p. xxxii.

unusual form might indeed be adopted for poetic convenience, and the usual feminine substantive is recognized in the title of the 13th sequence, 'Mater Sequentiarum': but the corresponding Proser, though it has the feminine in the headings of nos. 2 and 13, uses the neuter in those of no. 22 and of the last prose but one. **SECTION 12.**

It will, however, inevitably be asked how such dating can be reconciled with what is known of the history of sequences. And for the purpose of answering that question, and also to remove what I believe to be a grave popular error, I shall briefly state the relation of B. and C. to the compositions attributed to Notker.

Notker, who died in 912, is said to have begun writing sequences (i.e., proses) apparently about 862, and about 885 he collected them into a volume of which at least 8 copies exist—but of which no two copies exactly agree. Some of his proses were written to pre-existing melodies—others to melodies of his own composition. Ekkehard IV. of St. Gall, writing a century or so after Notker's death, says that Notker wrote 50 sequences (i.e., proses), and 47 proses[1] of his composition can be identified with reasonable certainty. These are written to 37 melodies—more than one prose being sometimes composed by him for the same melody: but the titles[2] of almost all those melodies suggest that they were borrowed and not composed by him.

Notker himself[3] has told us how he came to write his proses. The melodies of his youth were very long and hard to remember, and he began to think how he could connect them. During a Norman incursion, a Jumièges priest took refuge at St. Gall. He brought with him his antiphoner, in which some verses were modulated to sequences, but even then badly spoiled. The sight of them was joyful, the taste bitter; nevertheless he began to write in imitation of them *Laudes deo concinat orbis universus, qui gratis est redemptus*, and below *Coluber Adae deceptor*. He showed his composition to his master, Iso, who corrected some faults and told him that every movement of the song ought to have its separate syllable. What is clearly the corrected version of this composition still exists and is printed by Werner (p. 102), but to what melody it is written is not known.

The statement in the Dictionary of Hymnology, under 'Notker Balbulus' (p. 812), that the words set to the neums in the Jumièges antiphonary 'seem to have been merely strung together for mnemonic purposes' is so improbable that I reject it without a moment's hesitation, nor can I accept the statement, under 'Sequences' (p. 1041), that he was 'the first author of this kind of *Sequences*'.

In our Tours Sequentiary and Proser I find titles corresponding to those of 13 of the 37 tunes to which Notker wrote, but only two of them with the title of Notker's own sequence, and one[4] an obvious addition, since it and the only two sequences which follow it in the Sequentiary have prefixed to their titles the abbreviation Sq̄ or Sq́, whereas all previous titles are without any such prefix. The other is the title of the All Saints sequence *Omnes sancti*.

We find, then, inside our Sequentiary of 51 tunes an earlier Sequentiary of 48 tunes, of which 12 are certainly as old as the time of Notker (c. 862-912), while only 1 of them has Notker's words set to it.

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[1] See Jak. Werner, *Nothers Sequenzen*, 108.

[2] On names of sequences see Frere, *Winchester Troper*, xxxvi-vli.

[3] Cum adhuc iuvenulus essem, et melodiae longissimae, saepius, memoriae commendatae, instabile corculum aufugerent, coepi tacitus mecum volvere, quonam modo eas potuerim colligare.

Interim vero contigit, ut presbyter quidam de Gimedia, nuper a Nordmannis uastata, veniret ad nos antiphonarium suum deferens secum, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati, sed iam tunc nimium vitiati. Quorum ut visu delectatus, ita sum gustu amaricatus; ad imitationem tamen eorundem coepi scribere: „Laudes deo concinat orbis universus, qui gratis est redemptus" et infra „Coluber Adae deceptor". Quos cum magistro meo Isoni obtulissem, ille studio meo congratulatus, imperitiaeque compassus, quae placuerunt laudavit, quae autem minus emendare curavit, dicens: „Singuli motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere" (Werner, 97-8).

[4] It is *Scalam ad caelos*, a tune originally known as *Puella turbata*, and so called on ff. 17 and 57v of MS. Selden supra 27 (see below, § 14). The only tunes which come after it are in the Sequentiary *Candidi planctus cigni* and *Domine refugium*, and in the Proser *Planctus cigni*.

SECTION 12. Indeed one of these 12, *Stans a longe* (= 'Metensis minor'), is attributed to a Peter of Metz, who has been supposed to have written it about 790[1]. Mr. Bannister, however, tells me that the existence of Peter is now seriously called in question.

I am obliged to leave uncollated the verbal cues of the earlier part of A., on account of the labour involved. But a comparison of the set of 107 Alleluia-verses with the titles of the tunes to which Notker's sequences were written yields 15 of those titles. And the natural assumption is that the tunes of the 15 Alleluia-verses in question, and indeed of the remainder of the 107, are older than Notker.

So that we have in my opinion, beyond all reasonable doubt, in the Sequentiary, Proser, and Troper (as regards their original contents) a body of music not only almost absolutely independent of Notker, but anterior to him—reaching back how far no one knows.

I have only to add that on p. lix. will be found presumptive evidence of the existence at Winchester of a *Sacramentary* of the basilica of St. Martin outside Tours.

The Rev. W. H. Frere, in his book 'The Winchester Troper', has observed (p. xxxvi.) that some sequence-melodies 'are called by fanciful names, and are perhaps secular, such as Berta vetula, Frigdola, Hypodiaconissa, Planctus cygni, &c.,' and I propose to indicate what melodies of this kind are found in our Winchester MS. and what is the ground for regarding them as secular.

(i.) Here (though without the neums which are written over it in the original) is *Planctus cygni*, 'The plaint of the swan', as it was sung in Winchester Cathedral some 900 years ago, with an interlinear translation. It is taken from ff. 176^v-177^v of our MS. (C.)[2]. The capitals and stops are as in the original, but the lines are there consecutively written as prose. Prose, indeed, they are, but with this approach to verse, that each ends with the vowel *a*, and that each is constructed in close accentual correspondence with some neighbouring line. In fact, the piece consists of a series of strophes and antistrophes, and may be seen so printed in Dreves: here, however, I think it best to follow the simpler division of our MS.

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[1] A version in modern notation is printed by Schubiger at the end of his *Sängerschule St. Gallens*, where the reader will find no fewer than 60 such versions. Mr. Bannister, however, tells me that they are not from the original neums, but from a 16th cent. St. Gallen MS. in Gothic notation (no. 546).

[2] A text of this from Limoges MSS is printed by Dreves on p. 253 of his *Prosarium Lemovicense* (*Analecta hymnica medii aevi* vii., 1889). Another was printed by Misset and Weale in 1892 (*Analecta liturgica*, ii., p. 120) from mixed sources. The following notes on our Winchester text designedly omit to notice mere barbarisms of vocabulary, of spelling, and of grammar.

In accordance with a common practice of the time, the following pairs of words are written as one: *quitransfretauit*, *Sedereliquisse*, *&petisse nonpotero*, *instilla*, *nonconscendens*, *etconsueta*, *aciocundata*, *adamoena*, *adlitus*, *&conclamate*. In the heading, ALLELVIA has neums over it and was of course part of the service, to which 'The plaint of the swan' was tacked on.

In l. 5 the word before *mihi* was first written *eum*. Doubtless this arose out of a previous *eu*, which may have had a dot-shaped neum above it that caused it to be read as *eū*—i.e., *eum*. The *h* above the line has been added by a hand of at least a generation later, perhaps the hand which wrote B. The *m* is cancelled by dots underneath, apparently in a different ink from both the original and the later hand.

In l. 6 *ignita* is a corruption of *inniti*, which is Dreves's and Weale's text.

In l. 8 Dreves's reading, *arta*, or (better still) Weale's, *areta*, 'narrow', is probably correct; not *alta*, 'tall'.

In l. 11 *denses* and *asumere* should have been *densos* and *assumere*.

In l. 12 *amministrare* should have been *amministrate* (= *administrate*, as Dreves and Weale).

In l. 13 *suffragitantes* and *effugitantes* should have been *sufflagito te* and *effugitare*.

In l. 14 *cogitarem* should have been *cogitaret* (as Weale sees).

In l. 16 *Ouatizas* should have been *Ouatizans* (as Dreves and Weale).

The letter *s* is always of the *ſ* form except when beginning a line, and *i* is always *ı*.

SECTION 12.

PLANCTVS CINGI· ALLELVIA

1. Plangant filii ploratione una ·
Let the children complain[1] with one bewailing
2. Alitis cingni qui transfretauit aequora ·
Of the winged swan who crossed the water-plains :
3. O quā amare lamentabatur arida ·
O how bitterly she kept lamenting that she had left
4. Se dereliquisse florigera & petisse alta maria·
The flowery dry lands and had sought the deep seas—
5. Aiens infelix sum auicula [2]eu mihi quit[3] agam misera ?
Saying 'Unhappy little bird am I. Alas me! what shall I do, wretched one ?
6. Pennis soluta ignita lucida non potero hic in stilla ·
I shall not be able here to rest[3] with relaxed pinions in the glistening dank.
7. Undis quatior procellis hinc inde nunc allidor exulata ·
By the waves I am shaken, by the gales hence (and) thence am I now dashed in exile,
8. Angor inter alta gurgitum cacumina ·
I am straitened between the billows' lofty crests.
9. Gemens alatizo intuens mortifera non conscendens supera ·
Moaning I flap my wings, gazing on the deadly (waters), not scaling the heavens.
10. Cernens copiosa piscium legumina ·
Beholding the plenteous weeds on which the fish live,
11. Non queo inter denses gurgites asumere alimenta optima ·
I am not able amid the thick billows to take the best of foods.
12. Ortus occasus plage poli amministrare lucida sidera ·
Risings, settings, of the expanse of the pole, bright stars [4]assist ;
13. Suffragitantes oriona[5] effugitantes nubes occiduas ·
I beseech thee[6], Orion, to put to flight[7] the western clouds'.
14. Dum hec cogitarem tacita uenit rutilans amminicula aurora·
While thus she thought[8] in silence, came reddening dawn as stay :
15. Opitulata afflamine cepit[9] uirium recuperare fortia ·
Succoured by its breath she began to recover the forces of her powers.
16. Ouatizas iam agebatur inter alta et consueta nubium aera ·
Rejoicing now she was borne amid the high and wonted airs of the clouds ;
17. Hilarata ac iocundata nimis facta penetrabatur mariū flumina ·
Cheered and made overglad she was penetrating the rivers[10] of the seas ;
18. Dulcimode cantitans uolitauit ad amoena arida ·
Sweetly singing she flew to the pleasant dry places.
19. Concurrite omnia ad litus & conclamate agmina ·
Run together all to the shore and cry together, ye bands,
20. Regi deo[11] sit gloria aeterna ·
'To God the King be eternal glory'.

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[1] The original reading was probably 'Plangam filii', 'I will complain, children'. Dreves and Weale read 'Clangam, filii'.
[2] Altered to *quid* by a hand at least a generation later.
[3] Reading 'inniti', with Dreves and Weale.
[4] Reading 'administrate' with Dreves and Weale.
[5] Written *orriona*, but with a cancel-dot under the second *r*.
[6] Reading 'Sufflagito te'. Dreves has 'Sufflagitate', Weale 'Suffragitate'.
[7] Reading 'effugitare'.
[8] Reading 'cogitaret'.
[9] i.e., *coepit.*
[10] Estuaries ?
[11] Dreves reads *Regi magno sit gloria.*

SECTION 12. To show the rhythmical structure of the 'prose', I will now give it as divided by Dreves, but with my own text:—

1. Plangam, filii,
ploratione una

2a. Alitis cigni,
qui transfretauit aequora.

2b. O quam amare
lamentabatur, arida

3a. Se dereliquisse
florigera,
et petisse alta
maria;

3b. Aiens 'Infelix sum
auicula;
heu mihi! quid agam
misera?

4a. 'Pennis soluta,
inniti
lucida non potero
hic in stilla.

4b. 'Undis quatior,
procellis
hinc inde nunc allidor
exsulata.

5a. 'Angor inter arcta
gurgitum cacumina.
Gemens alatizo
intuens mortifera,
non conscendens supera.

5b. 'Cernens copiosa
piscium legumina,
non queo in denso
gurgitum assumere
alimenta optima.

6a. 'Ortus, occasus
plagae poli,
administrate
lucida sidera.

6b. 'Sufflagito te
Oriona,
effugitare
nubes occiduas'.

7a. Dum haec cogitaret tacita,
uenit rutila
adminicula aurora.

7b. Opitulata afflamine,
coepit uirium
recuperare fortia.

8a. Ouatizans
iam agebatur
inter alta
et consueta nubium
sidera.

8b. Hilarata
ac iucundata
nimis facta
penetrabatur marium
flumina.

9a. Dulcimode cantitans
uolitauit ad amoena
arida:

9b. Concurrite omnia
ad litus et conclamate
agmina

10. 'Regi deo
sit gloria
aeterna'.

The Rev. H. M. Bannister has called my attention to the large amount of assonance, apart from the final *a*, visible in this prose, and the more it is looked at in the light of known facts in the evolution of the Romance languages the larger that amount becomes. I must not begin to touch on these philological questions, but I may remark that, according to Mr. Bannister, Dreves's division into lines (as distinct from strophes) is not necessarily final—that it would, for instance, be quite legitimate in 5a. and 5b. to divide—

gurgitum cacumina	piscium legumina

so as to show the rimes in *-um*.

In 1. I am told that the neums as written in the Sequentiary show *filii* as part of the first line: but I suspect that originally the division was **SECTION 12.**

Planga^m,
Filii, ploratione una

with music written to match.

I suspect also that 10. should be divided—

Regi deo sit gloria
Aeterna

It is almost impossible not to see in this prose-poem a piece composed in a purely secular spirit, but adapted to sacred purposes by its termination[1]; I may add that Dreves's reading in l. 19 is not 'ad litus', 'to the shore', but 'alitum', 'of birds'—'Run together and cry out, all ye flocks of birds'. This I once thought more likely, but I now believe that 'agmina' is used in the same sense as in the hymn 'Agmina cuncta populi præsentia', and that the words are an invitation to all classes of men, or all orders of the religious, to hasten to the shore to see their lost favourite and thank God for its return.

The tune by itself is also found, compendiously written, in B., at f. 129, preceded by the ALLELUIA and by the title Sq̄ (i.e., Sequentia, 'Sequence') CANDIDI PLANCTUS CIGNI, 'Plaint of the *white* swan'. I find two tunes called Cygnea in MS. Selden supra 27 (see below, p. lxii), at ff. 8^v and 10, but Mr. Bannister tells me that both are different from this, which is called Cinnica (i.e., Cygnica) in one of Dreves's MSS.

(ii.) 'Berta vetula' is the name of a tune written over the prose 'Arce summa' on ff. 174^v, 175 (C.); it is there called only 'Berta', but on f. 128^v (B.) the tune by itself is given compendiously and called 'Berta uetula'. This is the same as if we wrote 'A little old woman named Berta'. I find from Frere, p. 235, that there was in use at Limoges a sequence with a tune called *Planctus Bertanae*. Now *Bertanae* is a feminine adjective formed from Berta, and obviously agrees with some such substantive as *ancillae*, 'handmaid', and I once felt pretty sure that 'Berta uetula' were the opening words of a 'Plaint of the handmaid of Berta'—the servant of a little old woman who either treated her harshly or lived remote from the haunts of young men—or both: but alas! Mr. Bannister tells me that the two tunes are not the same. They may, nevertheless, represent different settings of the same words. In Frere's list there are two other tunes called 'plaints'—one, *Planctus sterilis*, 'The plaint of the barren'—which I find also on f. 13^v of MS. Selden supra 27 (see below, p. lxii); the other, *Planctus pueri captivati*, 'The plaint of the boy who was taken captive'—so that they seem to have been a favourite class of composition.

(iii.) The 'Chorus' at the Epiphany bears in the MS. Winchester Troper at Cambridge (Frere, p. 73 and pl. 19) the alternative title (of obviously Germanic origin) *Bauuerisca*, which may mean 'A peasant woman', but more probably means 'The rustic melody'—*cf.* the tune-names *Metensis*, *Romana*, and *Occidentana*, not to mention *Cygnea*, '*Cinnica*', and (see below) *Greca pulchra*. It appears in a compendious form on [2]f. 122^v (B.), and was once written at length over sacred words ('Epiphaniam', &c.) on ff. 140, 140^v, 141 (C.); but in the latter case the neums have been erased and later notation[3] on a four-line red stave substituted, either late in the 12th cent. or early in the 13th.

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[1] Though one of Dreves's MSS. (early 11th cent.) describes it as an allegory relating to the fall of man. At a later period the secular tales (some of them by no means proper) called 'Gesta Romanorum' were adapted for the reading of the religious by the simple process of adding to each of them a moral in which the tale itself was interpreted as an allegory.

[2] Photographed in Frere, pl. 2.

[3] The beginning of it is reproduced in *Archaeologia*, xlvi, pl. xxi. Mr. Bannister tells me that the melody is the same as that of the erased neums.

SECTION 12. (iv.) *Greca pulchra*, 'The pretty Greek (melody?)'—probably the description of a tune rather than of a virgin-martyr. This title is given in the Cambridge MS. (Frere, p. 73) apparently as a synonym for the sequence *Post partum uirgo*. Our own MS. gives the latter tune under the title *Post partum Marie* with sacred words ('Hac clara die', &c.) on ff. 154, 154^{v} (C.), and (written compendiously) by itself under the title *Post partum uirgo mansisti* on f. 124^{v} (B.).

(v.) *Hieronima*, a woman's name. This tune was also called *Frigdola*[1] (Frere, p. 232), which name it bears on f. 19^{v} of MS. Selden supra 27 (see below, p. lxii). It is found with sacred words ('Arce superna', &c.) on ff. 166-8 (C.), and (written compendiously) by itself on ff. 126^{v}, 127 (B.).

Of the neums themselves I need say little. The most frequent neum is /; variations of pitch in this neum are indicated within such limits as are possible by the lengthening and shortening of it; and its primary pitch-point is the top of the stroke—that is to say, a raised pitch may be indicated by lengthening the stroke at the top, with or without a corresponding shortening of it at the bottom.

'Episemes' are sometimes used, as the Rev. H. M. Bannister has pointed out to me. 'Romanian' letters are very rare in C., and are little used in most parts of A., but in other parts sometimes freely. The Rev. W. H. Frere, speaking of this and the corresponding Cambridge MS., says: 'in these MSS. we find six letters principally if not exclusively employed: these are (i) l—levare: (ii) s—sursum: (iii) i, or iu—iusum: (iv) e—equaliter: (v) m—mediocriter: (vi) t—tene: in other words four letters roughly indicate pitch —'above' (2), 'below', and 'unison',—while two regulate the phrasing like the modern *moderato* and *ritenuto*' (*Winchester Troper*, p. xl).

But in B. 'Romanian' letters are employed with the utmost lavishness, and there are also three appearances of the letter *h* as a 'Metz letter' (Mr. Bannister), with the meaning *humiliter*[2]. In one of these three instances (f. 124^{v}, l. 8) no words are given, but on f. 124, l. 2, the *h* is put over the neum to the U in ALLELUIA, and in f. 125, l. 4, it is put before the neum to the A in the same word. Its meaning here was discovered by Mr. Bannister during the preparation of his 'Paleografia musicale Vaticana'. He points it out also at the beginning of a line in C., f. 179^{r}, l. 8, and in the middle of a line among the additions which precede A., f. 2^{r}, l. 12.

And now I come to the later additions to this MS.—additions of great importance for the history of musical notation in England. They are of three kinds: (i) proses over which *spaced* neums are written, (ii) pitch-signatures to neums, and (iii) proses over which neums are written on a stave with pitch-signature.

(i.) *The spaced neums*. Seven leaves prefixed at the beginning of the MS. contain proses written in hands which I believe to be of the first half of the 12th cent., and notation by hands of about the same age will also be found on ff. 87^{v}, 121^{v}, 129-132^{v}, 133^{v}-135^{v}, 181^{v}-190.

The large writing and long neums of A. C. and B. were followed by a smaller hand and shorter neums, the space between the lines remaining as before, and the character of the neums unchanged. The result was (and possibly the object) that there was more room in which to show variations of pitch, and the neums so written have an appearance of indicating these variations to a greater extent than the neums in A. C. and B.: instances occur on ff. 4^{v}, 129-132^{v}, 134^{v}-135^{v}, 181^{v}-182^{v}, 183^{v}-186, 187-188. Whether the appearance is only fallacious, or whether pitch is really indicated to a greater extent, I must leave experts to discover.

Then the neum / acquired a left-hand tag at the top and became 7[3], and spacing so as to show pitch-variation became very marked indeed: instances occur on ff. 1-4, 5-7^{v}, 87^{v}, 121^{v}, 133^{v}-134, 182^{v}-183,

[1] Does this mean 'Curly-haired'?—see Ducange's *Glossarium*.

[2] For the Metz letters see Mocquereau, i. 171-4. As a 'Romanian' letter *h* only indicates aspiration.

[3] This change of shape was analogous to the tagging and eventual splitting of the tops of tall letters, such as *b*, *d*, *h*, *l*. The beginner must, however, be careful not to mistake for this late *virga* the earlier *virga* when it is supplemented by an 'episeme'.

186ᵛ-187, 188-190ᵛ. Sometimes the neums of this stage are as elaborate as any of the earlier period, but more often they consist of almost nothing beyond the *7* and ▪. **SECTION 12.**

The comparatively short period of time occupied by these changes, and the simultaneous use of more than one system, are amply evidenced by our MS. For example, f. 1 is written in simple tagged neums, but on turning over-leaf one finds them followed by large untagged neums of almost the old type and of very considerable variety.

In many of these added pieces no 'Romanian' or Metz letters are used, in the rest the use of them is almost limited to the 'Romanian' *e* (*equaliter*) and *l* (*levare*). But again the Metz *h* occurs, and almost always in positions where aspiration cannot be imagined. It comes at the beginning of *sacro* (f. 135, l. 9), *mater* (*ib.*, l. 13), *Prouidentia* (f. 183, l. 1), and *Illuxit* (f. 188ᵛ, l. 2 from foot); and over the last syllable in *astra* (f. 135, l. 4), *iubilemus* (f. 135ᵛ, last l.), *petrum* (f. 183, l. 2), and *deum* (f. 188, l. 8). It is remarkable also that at the beginning of f. 135, l. 5, we get what is either *d* or *D*, and that in f. 183ᵛ, l. 4 from foot, we have apparently a *D*.

(ii.) *The neums preceded by letters.* On ff. 159, 159ᵛ a writer of apparently the 12th cent. has altered parts of the text in brown ink and has written fresh neums of the *7* type over his alterations. He has also altered the old / notation to *7* by putting tags to the old strokes.

Out of his 24 lines of music, 20 have *h*, *e*, or *l* prefixed: *h* 11 times, *e* 4, *l* 5. The same letters, and those only, occur *among* the neums—*h* 4 times, *e* 12, and *l* 6. As the 24 lines of *text* only contain 1 *h*, 2 *ch*, and 2 *th*, it is obvious that the 15 *h*'s inserted among the neums cannot be meant to indicate *aspiration*, and are therefore not the 'Romanian' but the Metz letter.

The Metz letter *h* will also be found in MS. Bodley 126[1]. That was written in England in the middle or latter half of the 12th cent., and with it are bound flyleaves which contain six or seven pages of contemporary music (part of the Commune Sanctorum and of the office of St. Katherine[2], with (Mr. Bannister) part of the Matins office for the dead in (Mr. Bannister) a noted non-monastic breviary). In these we have *h* in f. iii.ᵛ, l. 6, before *sicut*, at foot of f. 60ᵛ before *lica* (beginning of a line), and in f. 61, l. 4, over the first syllable of *uaga*. Moreover, in f. iii.ᵛ, l. 8, the first neum over the syllable *com* is preceded by what can be nothing—so far as I know—but an E. Mr. Bannister does not find this office for St. Katherine in English breviaries, and should have supposed these leaves to be French.

In the Cambridge Winchester Troper (MS. Corpus Christi Coll. 473) we have instances of neums with the alphabetic names of notes in the two lower octaves attached to them (Frere, pp. xl., xli., and plates 22, 25) and before I heard of the Metz letters from Mr. Bannister I used to think that the *h* had a like significance here—that it was not used at Winchester as a 'Romanian' letter, and that consequently musicians there thought safe to

[1] Given by Sir Walter Cope in 1602. The polychrome and gilt initials on ff. 1ᵛ, 2ᵛ show it to have been written in the second or third quarter of the 12th cent., and it has been corrected throughout in markedly 12th cent. writing; but the hand of the original scribe would have suggested to me the last quarter of the 11th cent., and abounds in *g*'s very much of the old Winchester cast. The flyleaves containing the music were not spare leaves of the original MS., but were inserted by a binder, who, in dividing them between the beginning and end of the volume, disarranged them; ff. 60, 61 should have come between ff. ii. and iii. The flyleaves nearest to each of the covers were clearly contained in a previous binding which had wooden boards; and they have no writing on the sides which were pasted against the boards, but have scribbling on the other side—some at least of which (on f. 62) is late 13th cent. The presumption is that the blank sides had already been pasted down—else why are they not scribbled on? Now the same late 13th cent. hand has scribbled on one of the flyleaves (f. 61ᵛ) which have music. And this furnishes a further presumption that the flyleaves containing music were already in use as flyleaves as early as the 13th cent. Of course, after the introduction of the stave into England (not later than the second half of the 12th cent.) staveless music would gradually be disused and would be liable to be used for binders' flyleaves in the monasteries possessing it.

That the body of the volume belonged to a monastery is clear from accents or stress-marks added by a different hand, as guides in reading aloud.

The musical notation includes a sign strange both to me and to Mr. Bannister. It is like a *p* with a stroke through the tail (a common abbreviation for *per*), standing on top of a *q*: instances will be found on f. 61ᵛ, 7 and 8 lines of neums from the foot.

[2] Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica* i, p. 69.

SECTION 12. introduce it in the late 11th cent. as a sign of pitch. Hence I took *e*, *h*, *l* in the parts of our own Winchester MS. which I have just been mentioning to belong to the *a—o* notation (see p. xxiv): as there was no *j* in that notation, *h* was at an interval of a fourth from both *e* and *l*.

Mr. Bannister, however, subsequently examined the Cambridge Winchester Troper for the one prose which in our Bodleian Winchester Troper has the *e*, *h*, *l* prefixed. He found the same letters prefixed there also, and in the same hand. And he told me that in both MSS. the note to which an *e* is prefixed should always be the same note as the end-note of the previous line, and that in both MSS. the note to which an *l* is prefixed should always be higher than the end-note of the previous line. So that I could no longer question that *e* and *l* are the ordinary 'Romanian' letters, but used as cues at the beginning of lines.

(iii.) *The neums on a stave with pitch-signature.* These are always over erased 11th cent. neums.

On ff. 131ᵛ, 132, 11th cent. neums have been erased and neums of the ⁊ and ▪ type written over them on *red* 3-line staves; in each stave some line or some space is signed, *a* *D* and *Γ* being used for line-signatures[1] and *b quadratum*[2] (= b♮) for a space-signature[3]. So on ff. 133-133ᵛ (without *D*), 137ᵛ-138 (*b* = b♭, as an extra space-signature), 139-41 (also *g* as a line-signature and *d* as a space-signature), 142-4 (stave usually three-line; only line-signature $\frac{b}{b}$[4]; *b*, *b quadratum*, *d* space-signatures), 145 (3-line and 4-line stave, line-signature *a*, space-signature *b quadratum*), 146 (no signatures), 178ᵛ-179 (only signature *b quadratum*, for spaces). Wherever *b quadratum* appears, it is of the shape assigned in *Paléographie musicale*, i., p. 121, to the 12th and 13th cent.

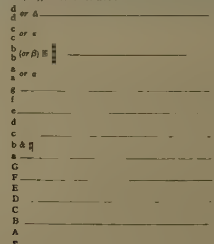
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[1] *D* and *Γ* are the signs for the lowest *d* and *g* (Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*, p. 66). The *Γ* I have not seen in any other of our MSS.: it occurs in this only once—on f. 131ᵛ, where Mr. Bannister pointed it out to me.

[2] The ordinary curved *b* was used for *b*♭, and to indicate *b*♮ a 'squared *b*', *b quadratum*, shaped ♮, was introduced. This came to be written sometimes exactly like *h* (*e.g.*, on ff. 178ᵛ, 179), and would be mistaken for it by anyone unacquainted with the history of signature-notation. I owe to Mr. J. F. R. Stainer my own first knowledge of its real nature. From *b quadratum* is descended the present sign for *all* 'naturals', ♮, and the German name *H* for *b*♮.

[3] The signature may be altered in the middle of a stave. Thus, on f. 131ᵛ the top line but one is signed *a* at the beginning, but half-way-on the third line is signed *D*.

[4] The sign for *b* flat in the highest octave (Riemann, *l.c.*), written here like *b* with a second loop over the first, or *B* with a stem projecting upwards. But I may as well append a table which will explain once for all the pitch-signatures of this and other volumes to be presently mentioned: it includes all the signs of this scale given by Riemann (*l.c.*), whether or not I have found them in the MSS. under notice:—



For the use of a similar notation in ancient Welsh music, see the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, original ed., iii, pp. 446-624, and 1870 ed., pp. 1076-1204, with an appended essay by John Thomas. I have to thank that charming Welsh singer, Mrs. Mary Davies, for calling my attention to this.

On ff. 136, 136^{v} early 11th cent. neums have been erased, and neums of the ɣ and ▪ type written over them on a *brown* stave, generally of 3 lines, but sometimes of 4: the only line-signature is *g*, the only space-signatures are *b quadratum* and *d*. I think these alterations are of the 12th cent. **SECTIONS 12, 13.**

On ff. 130^{v}, 131, a wavy red line is sometimes introduced *in the text*, not with any pitch-value, but to show that the last syllable is to be prolonged. The widely varying lengths of these lines probably indicate roughly the degree of prolongation. The notation they accompany is that of the old-style neums of the smaller kind.

§ 13. I have now to notice 5 volumes given by Bishop Leofric to Exeter Cathedral at some time between 1050 and his death in 1072. All contain neums of a type consistent with the possibility of their having been written at Exeter itself during or very soon after the period in question. The second also has 11th cent. Lotharingian neums, and others which are either Cornish or Breton.

In endeavouring to discover the origin of any of these volumes it is necessary to consider what we know or can reasonably conjecture of Leofric's own origin.

From 1046 to 1050 his episcopal seat had been at Crediton in Devon. When made bishop in 1046 he was chancellor to Edward the Confessor. In 1044 he had a property at Dawlish in Devon granted to him, being then the king's chaplain. Before that, we only hear that he was brought up and educated among the Lotharingians, being himself 'Britonicus'—which may mean either a Briton or a Breton. For authorities, see Canon F. E. Warren, *The Leofric missal*, pp. xix, xx.

The term 'Lotharingia', says Canon Warren (p. xxi), 'corresponds geographically to the South Netherlands, or to Belgium, and part of Germany west of the Rhine, and the French and German provinces of Flanders, Picardy, Artois, Alsace, and Lorraine; ecclesiastically, to the province of Cambray, including the dioceses of St. Omer, Tournay, Arras, Cambray, Namur; the northern part of the province of Rheims, including the dioceses of Soissons, Amiens, Laon; the province of Trèves, including the dioceses of Trèves, Metz, Verdun, and Toul; the southern part of the province of Mechlin, including the dioceses of Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent; and the western part of the province of Cologne, including the dioceses of Cologne and Liège'.

As regards 'Britonicus', Leofric is far more likely to have been a Devonian or Cornish Briton than a Breton. For his name was a common English one, but I know of no continental example of it[1]. Entries in one of Leofric's own books, the Leofric missal, supply two instances of its occurrence in Devon about 970: the first (f. 8^{v}) is that of a serf manumitted at Bradstone in S.W. Devon, the second (f. 116) that of an abbat of the very monastery to which our Leofric subsequently made his gifts (Warren, p. lx).

(i.) **MS. Auct. D. 2. 16**[2], Vulgate Latin Gospels, with a 'Comes' of lections at the end. This Comes is the usual Roman lectionary, but it has in addition Benedict (*natale* and translation), Brigid the Irish saint, Samson of Dol in Brittany, and Winwaloe, founder and abbat of Landévennec in Brittany. Of this last saint there are no fewer than three commemorations, (1) of his *natale*, (2) of his translation on Ap. 28 (which is stated by the Bollandists to have been from the old church at Landévennec to the new one[3]), and (3) the dedication of his basilica. There is accordingly no doubt that this kalendar was specially written for the use of the Landévennec monks. The addition of Benedict is explained by the fact that the abbey became Benedictine in

[1] It is of course *possible* that his Saxon name was not baptismal, but adopted in later life.

[2] Given in 1602 by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

[3] See the 'Omelia' printed by de la Borderie in his edition of the Cartulary of Landévennec. It is there (p. 134) implied, though not positively stated, that both the smaller church in which the Saint *was* buried and the larger to which he was translated were at Landévennec.

SECTION 18. 818; that of Brigid by the fact that it had strong Irish traditions[1]. But whether the MS. was written *at* Landévennec is not quite so easy to determine.

In the 9th cent. the Bretons, under pressure of Norman attacks, began taking the bodies of their saints to safer regions, and the abbat Benedict and the monks migrated with the body of St. Winwaloe to Montreuil-sur-Mer. Their object had been to cross the Channel to Britain, but Helgand, count of Ponthieu, would not let the saint's body leave his territory; so at Montreuil a new abbey of St. Winwaloe was founded. There were two Helgands, counts of Ponthieu; one ruling from about 859 to 864, the other from about 878 to 926. Migrations of the bodies of Breton saints are ascribed to 878, and there is record of a grant to St. Winwaloe made at Montreuil during the abbacy of the same Benedict and witnessed by 'Uurmaelon, count of Cornubia', who is found in 908 and 913 as *king of Brittany*. So that the migration to Montreuil took place after 877, before 927, and probably before 909[2]. The date when the body of the community re-settled at Landévennec is unknown—it was certainly not till after 935.

But there also ensued a connexion of St. Winwaloe with England. In or soon after 919, Matuedoi, count of Poher, with his son Alan (future king of Brittany) and a 'huge multitude' of Bretons, took refuge either with Æthelstan, who had not yet come to the throne, or with his father Eadweard the Elder; and Alan remained oversea till 936, when he undertook the reconquest of Brittany. Of this sojourn of Bretons with the Saxon king a remarkable memorial exists in the 'Reims litany', printed by Haddan & Stubbs (II, pt. 1, 81-5), which prays for 'Regem et Episcopum nostrum' and 'clerum et plebem Anglorum', but invokes no English saint except Augustine, while it contains a long list of Roman, Breton, and other Keltic saints: I have no doubt that it is a Winchester litany with a substituted Breton list of saints—a list showing special devotion to Mary, Stephen, and Benedict, and including, of course, Winwaloe and Brigid. In Dugdale's Monasticon, II, 529, will be found mention of a relic or relics of Winwaloe ('OF S. Winƿaloe þam abbode'), given by Æthelstan to Exeter; but the entire body of relics professes to have been collected oversea by a special mission, and has therefore presumably no connexion with the Breton sojourn in England. There was also a bone of the saint, and part of his arm, at Glastonbury (Dodsworth & Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655, p. 6), but these also cannot be traced to the Breton immigration. It is remarkable that, whereas only three other copies of the *Comes* in Bodleian MSS. are known to me, and only one of them in a MS. written in Britain or which certainly belonged to a British religious house, that one also contains the three commemorations of Winwaloe. The MS. is MS. Bodley 155; it was written in the late 10th cent., when also it belonged to the abbey of nuns at Barking[3]. A comparison of its Gospel-text shows that the MS. was not copied from the volume we are considering, nor apparently from the immediate prototype of it; but the *Comes* at end, though likewise not copied from the one before us, is, so far as I have compared it, virtually identical and is certainly a Landévennec *Comes*—doubtless copied from a MS. of North Gaul[4].

As Montreuil was in Ponthieu, and as at the beginning of the 10th cent. (901-3) Winchester gave shelter to many Ponthieu refugees from Norman invasion (including monks of various monasteries[5]), the original of the Barking MS. may very well have been brought over by them.

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[1] In *Gallia Christiana* XIV, Instr. 189, is printed a letter of the emperor Ludovicus—promulgated in 818—in which he states that 'cognoscentes quomodo ab Scotis', i.e., Irish, 'sive de conversatione, sive de tonsione capitum accepissent', he had ordered the Landevennoch monks to follow the Benedictine rule.

[2] For the main facts on which the foregoing statement is based, see Arthur de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, III, pp. 324, 353-4, 369-71, 348, 510-11, 555, 385-7. He originally dated the migration to Montreuil after 914 (p. 353), but changed his opinion owing to the form of the title 'count of Cornubia' (p. 555).

[3] See the two documents at end of it; the second is only a 13th cent. copy of an 11th cent. original, but the first is of the same period as the execution of the MS.

[4] See the 'feathered' *Q* which forms the first letter of the Gospel according to Luke.

[5] See *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (Rolls ser.), p. 82.

SECTION 13.

So far as the *writing* is concerned, the Bodleian MS. might very well have been executed at Tours, but Tours can hardly be responsible for the very singular coloured drawings of Matthew on f. 28^v, Mark on f. 71^v, and Luke on f. 101^v (that of John has been cut out); while no one who is familiar with the early Christian art of Ireland and Scotland—whether in MSS. or stones—would fail to suspect that they came from a Keltic hand.

In place of the original drawing of John (between ff. 145^v and 147) has been inserted a fully coloured Carolingian portrait of him, with a page of newly written text at back of it to replace the missing commencement of the Gospel. And between ff. 71^v and 73 has been added a similar portrait of Mark. These suggest that the volume was at Montreuil or some other part of Gaul outside Brittany before it came to England.

The minor ornamentations are not uninstructive. Note favourite Keltic features in the *P* on f. 16 (interlacing), the *M* on f. 20 (red dots), the *E* on f. 29 (interlacing), the *I* on f. 73 (do.), the *H* on f. 144 (red dots). The extraordinary *Q* on f. 102 may or may not be Keltic as regards the man's face: I suspect it to be a Keltic imitation of Romanesque work.

The following are probably unfinished. The colouring of Matthew on f. 28^v: compare Mark and Luke; and the very singular initial on f. 30: part of this has been touched with red—almost certainly as an indication to the colourist[1].

That the MS. was written at Landévennec and not at Montreuil appears to me probable for two reasons:—(1) that there is apparently no special Montreuil commemoration in the *Comes*, (2) that it contains no commemoration of St. Iudocus. If, of course, the feasts of the translation of Winwaloe and of the dedication of his basilica referred to Montreuil and not to Landévennec, that would destroy the former argument, and indeed reverse the probabilities. But it is difficult to imagine a Breton colony at Montreuil omitting to commemorate the patron of the neighbouring monastery of St. Iudocus, seeing that Iudocus was himself a Breton.

There is also in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a MS. (no. 192) undoubtedly written as a gift to the brethren of St. Winwaloe in 952, and not likely to have been alienated by them before the 11th cent. It seems to have come from Christ Church, Canterbury—see Henry Bradshaw, *Collected papers*, p. 472, Dr. M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 506, and *The New Palaeographical Society*, pl. 109 and accompanying description.

I have not yet touched the question of age from a purely palaeographical standpoint. At least one of the scribes shows a tendency to form the tops of some of his tall letters with more or less of a hair-line tag: see f. 148, l. 2 (the first *h*), l. 4 (the second *l*), l. 7 (the second *d*). In the Caroline minuscule hand such formations are rare till the late 10th cent., but are nevertheless found in the diocese of Liége about 908-920 (*Palæog. Soc.*, pl. 94). The text on the back of the substituted portrait of St. John is apparently as late as the middle of the 11th cent.; for the tops of some of the tall minuscule letters may fairly be said to be split (see lines 12 and 13 in particular), and I know of no certain instance of this in Continental Caroline minuscule before 1049 (*Palæog. Soc.*, pl. 61).

The best guess I can make at the history of the MS.—it must be clearly understood to be no more than a guess—is that these Gospels with their *Comes* were executed in the 10th cent. at Landévennec (after the re-migration) to be sent to Montreuil or some other continental monastery; that they had to be dispatched before the ornamentation was quite finished; that the two Carolingian pictures were executed at Montreuil, or wherever else the volume was sent; and that thence the volume was brought to England, not before the middle of the 11th cent., by Leofric or one of his friends.

[1] It is not a set-off from anything on a missing leaf: no leaf is missing at this point. Compare with this initial the loop of the *P* in pl. IV. of the facsimiles of the 'Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Landevenec'. This *P* is in a late 11th cent. MS. of the life of Winwaloe, no. 16 in the library of Quimper. Note also the fondness for open-mouthed snakes shown in the *P* and in pl. II of the same Facsimiles.

SECTION 18.

At the beginning of the volume have been inserted two documents relating to Exeter. The first[1] is a list of all that Leofric recovered for or gave to St. Peter's, and among the books mentioned are two great Christ's books (Gospels), burnished: doubtless the MS. we have been discussing is one of them, and was once enclosed in a polished metal cover. This list states itself to be contained in a Christ's book, and is on parchment leaves uniform in size with the Gospels themselves: it was doubtless inserted by Leofric. The second[2], which contains no such statement and is on smaller leaves, was doubtless added later: it is a list of relics given.

The leaves up to the end of the first list bear marks of a binding earlier than the present modern one. Whether any of the indentations in the parchment visible in this part of the book and in the end leaves are impressions of an original embossed metal cover may be difficult to decide, and must at any rate be left undecided here.

Matt. i 1-18 have neums over them, and the Rev. H. A. Wilson tells me that this lesson is directed in the Sarum missal to be sung at the end of the night-office which preceded mass on Christmas morning[3]. In the margin has been added the preface '*Dominus* uobiscum · et cum *spiritu* tuo. Genealogia ihu xp̄i *domini nostri secundum* matheum. *Gloria* tibi *domine*.'; this, which is also accompanied by neums, is in a probably English hand. And Mr. Bannister tells me that the mode in which the *virga* is everywhere made is peculiar to Exeter notation: he finds it in the Leofric Collectar at the British Museum, MS. Harl. 2961. The usual shape / is generally tapered at top and bottom, and a slight curve is common.

(ii.) **MS. Bodley 579**, 'the Leofric missal'. This has been most laboriously edited by Canon Warren, from whom (p. xxvi) I quote the following summary analysis.

'The volume, in its present form, is of a very complex character, and consists of three main and distinct divisions, which, for convenience' sake, may be designated as Leofric A., B., C.

'Leofric A., which forms the bulk of the volume, is a Gregorian Sacramentary, written in Lotharingia early in the 10th cent.

'Leofric B. is an Anglo-Saxon Kalendar with Paschal Tables, etc., written in England circ. A.D. 970.

'Leofric C. consists of a heterogeneous collection of Masses, Manumissions, historical statements, etc., written in England partly in the 10th, partly in the 11th cent.

'The complexity of the volume is increased by the confused arrangement of the leaves belonging to these separate parts, and to the occupation of blank leaves or parts of leaves by entries in later handwritings. It is impossible to say when the present dislocation of leaves began, and how far it is due to the Oxford binder; nor is it possible to reproduce exactly the original arrangement, some leaves having been lost, as is evident from the incomplete gatherings and from the abrupt endings of the text on foll. 16b, 211b, etc.'

And on p. xxvii Canon Warren gives a table showing to which section each page of the volume belongs.

'*Leofric A.*' has been assigned by him (p. xli) to the diocese of Arras or that of Cambrai, and elsewhere (p. liv) he speaks of it as Leofric's 'Arras sacramentary'. The evidence of the list of saints in the litany, and of the special honour shown to Vedast, really leaves no room for doubt that the MS. was written for a church in

[1] For it see Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ii, 527-8), which is an imperfect copy, and Warren's *Leofric Missal*, xxi iv.

[2] For it see Dugdale (ii, 528-31).

[3] Mr. Wilson reminds me that it also appears with neums in MS. Lat. liturg. f. 5, 'St. Margaret's gospel-book', another 11th cent. MS. written in England, and almost certainly at Winchester (compare the interlaced *L* on f. 4 with that on f. 11 of MS. Pemb. Coll. Camb. 301, the facsimiles of which, published by Dr. M. R. James in his catalogue of that collection, are of pronouncedly Wintonian type). At the end of MS. Rawlinson liturg. g.13, a Dominican sequentiary of the end of the 13th cent., almost certainly transcribed in Ireland, the music of this lesson and its preface is written on staves with pitch-signatures.

one of the two dioceses 'which were held together from the time of St. Vedast, their first bishop, till A.D. 1095' (p. xli). At the time when the sacramentary was written, and in Leofric's own time, the bishop's seat was at Cambrai. SECTION 13.

The commemorations of Benedict's deposition (f. 167v) and translation (f. 180), with something more than the ordinary ornamentation, indicate that the sacramentary was written for a Benedictine monastery. There is also a special mass for abbat and congregation (f. 222), but none for a bishop. Hence the sacramentary was presumably not written for Cambrai cathedral, for the acting head of a Benedictine establishment attached to a cathedral was only *prior*—the bishop himself being considered *abbat*. Nevertheless it 'contains a large number of the triple episcopal benedictions which . . . were pronounced by the bishop after the Lord's Prayer and before the Communion' (Warren, p. xxxvii). The church was, therefore, probably one in which a bishop might be expected sometimes to minister—though the Rev. H. M. Bannister points out that the benedictions may have been merely copied from an earlier exemplar, which, he says, often happens.

Mr. Bannister points out that on f. 112 we have over an erasure 'pro archı epıſcopo ɴoſtro at que rege ɴoſtro', and asks on which side of the Channel that alteration was made. The hand is the hand of the lower part of f. 111v (which is also over erasures), and the manner in which *rt* are there joined, and the almost horizontal diagonal of *N* (for *n*), suggest to me an English hand. In that case (as no *bıshop* is included in this *Exultet*), it looks as if A. was in use at Canterbury before Leofric obtained it.

The amount of ornamentation accorded in the *Proprium ſanctorum* to the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul leads me to think it possible that the sacramentary may have been written for the Benedictine monastery dedicated to those saints at Lutosa (Leuze) in the diocese of Cambrai.

Perhaps some day a clew may be obtained from the list of living and dead persons added at the foot of f. 9. That page belongs to Leofric C., and the body of it was written in England in the 11th cent., but the list is obviously foreign, and the hand foreign—perhaps Leofric's own.

Of the neums, Warren says (p. xxx) 'They occur very rarely in A., only in the first fifty leaves, and they have mostly the appearance of not being prima manu. See foll. 60a, 110a'. I notice scattered neums in the text after the point mentioned (e.g., on f. 120), but nowhere in A. have I observed neums seeming to be part of its original text. Mr. Bannister notices the following distinct types, (1) Continental, tall and slanting, as on f. 110, (2) S.-W. English ?, on f. 65—of the peculiar kind which I have referred to later in connexion with Leofric B., (3) probably Continental, on ff. 60, 66v, (4) English (but not Exeter)), on ff. 69v and following.

Of the marginal additions to A., Warren says (p. xxxvi) that 'the following must be noted as not part of the original sacramentary, but as added or altered by various English scribes after A. had been brought by Leofric into this country :—

1. The marginal entries of Epistles and Gospels. These have been entered sometimes before, sometimes after, the rest of the catchwords, never in their proper place. Sometimes they are omitted altogether.
2. The marginal entries of the Sequences in the few cases where they occur, as in the Feriæ post Pascha.
3. The Alleluias placed between the Epistle and Gospel in some of the Missæ in Easter-Tide.
4. The whole of the marginal entries on fols. 76a, 77a, 112b, 113a, 123b, 129b, 149a, and from fol. 204a (inclusive).
5. Certain alterations in the text of the Benedictio Cerei on fol. 111ab'.

SECTION 18.

That none of these additions or alterations are part of the original text I freely admit, but that all of them (e.g., those on f. 76a) were written in this country is more than I can allow without an amount of minute investigation for which time fails me.

The date of Leofric A. has been put too early. I attribute it to Leofric's own lifetime, for the following reason.

In the Continental 'Caroline' minuscule hand in which this MS. is written, the tops of the tall letters (*b*, *d*, *h*, *l*) began in the 11th cent. to be forked or split; but I know of no instance[1] that can be reliably dated before 1049 (*Palæographical Soc.*, pl. 61). To my eyes this feature is plainly visible in Leofric A. For instance, in the first 5 lines of f. 130 we have the following italicized letters split—l. 2 adimp*l*ere, l. 3 miracu*l*a, l. 5 *l*iberata ple*b*f: *d* will be found similarly split at the end of ll. 9 and 13, and *h* in l. 5 overleaf. The progress of palaeography may bring to light earlier examples of this forking than those of 1049, but without such an example I feel bound to hold that Leofric A. was not written till just on the middle of the 11th cent. at the earliest.

Leofric B., the Kalendar and Paschal tables, contains no neums, but a few words must be said as to its date and place.

Canon Warren gives as its date 'the latter part of the 10th cent.'.

As regards the obits, he says they refer to persons who died between 976 and 1087: 'The one exception is the obit of Eadulf first Bishop of Crediton, who died in 934 . . . but its insertion may be an afterthought and due to the same hand which inserted the obit of Ælfwin, Bishop of Wells . . . (†998)'. These two obits are not by the same hand, but it would be natural that the Crediton obit should be inserted after the Kalendar came to Exeter, as Crediton was the former seat of the bishopric of Exeter.

He says that the Easter tables 'range from 969—1006, comprising the fifty-second and fifty-third of the Dionysian cycles', and that 'there are reasonable grounds for assigning' the writing 'to one of the years, and probably to one of the earlier years, in the first cycle'. What these reasonable grounds are, he does not hint; but (f. 53) there is a prick over the date 972, an ink-dot in the last column relating to 971, and a very small ink-spot over the date 969 itself. *Certainly* the table was already in use in 972, and apparently it was written in 969 or in the twelve months preceding the Easter of that year; for I have found it the constant practice of copyists of paschal tables to indicate by some such trifling sign the date at which they were copying—probably the date of the Easter next in front of them[2].

On f. 56, at end of a badly corrupted chronology of the first five ages of the world, is a statement that there are 999 years from the birth of the Lord to the advent of Antichrist. This was presumably written before the year 1000.

Canon Warren points out that a table on f. 57, of the intervals between Christmas Day and Ash Wednesday, is calculated for 979-1011. Why the table should begin so late, I cannot tell: perhaps a leaf containing earlier years is missing.

I regard it as certain that B. was written either in 969 or between the Easters of 968 and 969.

As regards the place of writing, Canon Warren has shown beyond the slightest doubt that B. has a Glastonbury connexion.[3] It was written either at or for Glastonbury.

[1] It must be clearly understood that I am excluding the Hiberno-Saxon minuscule, in which the splitting of tops goes back to the 9th cent.

[2] See above, p. xxvii. Ink-dots or pricks will be found in one or other of the columns relating to a number of years in this table, indicating that it was used for those years.

[3] The unidentified obit of Æglflæd I take to be that of Æðelflæd, Dunstan's patroness at Glastonbury—Ægel- (i.e., Æyel-) being found as a corruption of Æðel-. The saints' name *gagi*, i.e., *Gaii*, against Ap. 19 and 22, Jul. 1, Oct. 27, is a good example of the *y* value of medial *g* before a slender vowel.

The first and last pages were originally left blank, to serve as covers: indeed, all the last leaf remained vacant. These three pages were afterwards written on, and the third of them (f. 59^v) contains at top the Mass preface [*V*]*ere dignum* in an 11th cent. Anglo-Saxon hand, but with neums which I described in the first proof of this book as looking to me un-English. Mr. Bannister on reading this informed me that they are of that mixed notation of accents and points which is apparently only found in MSS. of N.W. France [it goes as far down as Orleans] and the extreme S.W. of England. Whether they were written at Glastonbury[1], Crediton, or Exeter (though they are quite unlike the Exeter type), they are sure to have been written in England. **SECTION 18.**

We come now to Leofric C. The neums in it are few and late. Mr. Bannister notes tall slanting Continental neums on f. 17, and short fine English ones (not Exeter) on ff. 22-26, 267^v. But Canon Warren says[2] (pp. lvi, lvii):—'The colophon (fol. 1), entries of manumissions of slaves (pp. 1, 5, 6, 269), statements about the transfer of the see from Crediton, etc. (p. 2), the list of relics (p. 3), the Mass for a bishop (p. 20), connect this part of the volume with Devon and Cornwall, partly before, partly during, the episcopate of Leofric, 1050-72, but the document on fol. 2a was evidently written after his death.

'. . . Its list of additional services includes three Masses connected with the British or English Church,—St. Alban, protomartyr of Britain, †304; St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, †685; and the ordination of St. Gregory (March 29); while strong Gallican influence is still visible in the addition of St. Giles (Sept. 1); the Translation (July 4), and the Octave (Nov. 20), of St. Martin; SS. Dionysius, Rusticus, Eleutherius (Oct. 9), St. Lazarus, legendarily connected with Marseilles (Aug. 18).

'. . . The mention of St. Peter and St. Swithun in the next passage appears to point to both Exeter and Winchester:—

"Familiam beatissime Dei genitricis Mariæ, necnon et sancti Petri apostoli, atque sancti Swithun confessoris Christi . . . custodi" (p. 12).

'Another Mass includes expressions which prove that it can only have been used at Exeter, and that it was composed by or for Bishop Leofric himself. They are part of a "Missa propria pro Episcopo" on p. 20'.

It must not, however, be forgotten that 'Leofric C.' is simply a collective term for everything in the volume which is not either part of the Missal 'Leofric A.' or of the Kalendar, &c., 'Leofric B.'. Its contents are widely distributed through the volume, and many of them are actually written on blank pages or parts of pages, in 'Leofric A.' and 'Leofric B.'. There are only two very considerable *blocks* of leaves belonging to Leofric C.: the first is ff. 17^v-37^v, the second is 336^v-377^v. This latter contains 15 masses for special feasts, and 'There are also thirty-four Common or Votive Masses, and a large number of isolated Collects, Benedictions, Prefaces, Apologiæ Sacerdotis, etc., with full offices and ritual for Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday (fols. 346a-364a)'.

Now in an earlier part of Leofric C. there is a litany (f. 257) which is simply the Tours-Winchester litany with quite insignificant variations[3]. Before Leofric was made bishop in 1046 he had been chaplain and chancellor to the king, whose seat was of course at Winchester. And the discovery of this copied litany raises the question whether Leofric C. contains other extracts from Tours-Winchester books, and if so to what extent. Were I to begin investigating the latter question, the present volume would never see the light: I merely commend it to liturgiologists. But to the former I can give a positive 'Yes'. On f. 343-4^v we have a special collect, epistle, gospel, &c., for the Translation of St. Martin: in the collect[4] Martin is spoken of as

[1] Some undoubted Glastonbury neums of the late 11th cent. will be found on the margins of ff. 133^v, 134, of MS. Hatton 42, a Glastonbury book which was once Dunstan's.

[2] His *page*-references are to the pages of his own edition.

[3] The saints are identical—the only non-Biblical ones being Laurence, Hilary (Martin's teacher), and Martin.

[4] The same collect is found in a missal quite certainly emanating from Winchester—that of Robert of Jumièges (*Henry Bradshaw Society*'s ed. p. 187); and in that missal a subsequent 'preface' contains the words 'ut ipsum nos apud clementiam tuam sentiamus habere patronum, quem tua gratia largiente salutis aeternae meruimus suscipere magistrum', which again points decisively to Tours.

SECTION 13. ‘quem doctorem uitæ habuimus in terris’, which suggests Tours, and at the foot of f. 344 mention is made of him as ‘protectoris nostri’, which can only refer to a church dedicated to him. Here, then, we have more fragments of the lost liturgy of the basilica of St. Martin outside Tours. There are likewise prayers on f. 375 for the *Octave* of St. Martin.

Let me add that the Mass for the ‘Natale’ of SS. Dionisius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius on f. 260 was doubtless from a Tours-Winchester book, as tropes are assigned to their feast in the Cambridge MS. of the Winchester Troper: the Bodleian MS. uses these only as tropes for Many Martyrs.

(iii.) **MS. Bodley 708**, Gregory's ‘Pastoralis cura’, written in England and dated early 11th cent. in the Palæographical Society's series; but the large number of hyphens used by its scribes makes me afraid to put it very near the beginning of that century[1]. Neums are found only on the margin of f. 110, a page in which a parallel is drawn between the summons of the preacher and the ‘cantus’ of the cock. Under the neums are the letters *ap*: they are found in the margins of early MSS. as an abbreviation for ‘Apostolus’, indicating that certain words in the text are either a quotation from one of the Apostles or may be illustrated from him—and in this case they may be a reference to II. Pet. i, 19.

(iv.) **MS. Auct. F. 3. 6,** works of the 4th cent. Christian poet, Prudentius, written in England and apparently in the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 11th cent. On ff. 3^{v}, 4, 5^{v}, 6, 7 neums[2] are written over parts of hymns before food and after food; on f. 9 over parts of hymns at the lighting of the lamp and during fast-time; on f. 12^{v} over the beginning of a hymn for all seasons; on f. 19 over a stanza (‘Saluete flores martyrum’) of an Epiphany-hymn; on f. 124 over the first stanza of *Beate martyr prospera*; and some are scribbled on ff. 27 and 37^{v}. They are all of ordinary 11th cent. type except that on f. 6 a hymn begins with 3 lines of the late 11th cent. tagged neums and then continues with untagged ones—an evidence that at Exeter, no less than Winchester, new and old forms were used together for a time. Mr. Bannister notes that significative letters abound, and that *h* is among them (see *ante*, pp. l-lii).

(v.) **MS. Auct. F. 1. 15**, a volume containing Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae and Persius, two separate MSS., written in England, and bound together at Exeter. Only the former of these contains neums, which are written over the earlier lines of the (early 6th cent.) poems on ff. 5, 12^{v}, 35^{v}, 42^{v}, 45^{v}, 47^{v}, 54, 57^{v}, 64^{v}. They are very fine and delicate, and of 11th cent. type, with occasional significative letters (including *h*); the text itself is of that century[3].

In each of these books is a Latin and also an Anglo-Saxon inscription, recording its presentation by *bishop* Leofric to St. Peter's church in Exeter, and invoking a curse on anyone who deprived the minster of it. And out of the many resemblances and many differences between the six sets of inscriptions I think we can ascertain pretty accurately the order in which Leofric presented them.

All the books except the Missal, the Gospels, and the Persius add that Leofric's episcopal seat is at Exeter. These three, by not having it, suggest that they were given before his seat was removed from Crediton.

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[1] And the large coloured initials are not all as old in their present state as the body of the MS. Evidences of touching up and of adding ornamental finials abound, and some entire initials are apparently late: the 12th cent. is apparently the period to which these interferences are referable.

[2] The passages on ff. 3^{v}, 9 also have neums over them on ff. 8^{v}, 15 of MS. Oriel Coll. 3, an early 11th cent. Prudentius written in England. That MS. likewise has on f. 15 neums to a later portion of the hymn for fast-time.

[3] Observe hyphens by the scribe of the text (e.g., on ff. 6, 22, 71^{v}) as well as (abundantly) in the marginal glosses. This, however, would be not inconsistent with the late 10th cent.

The unusual size of the Boethius and Persius (pages measuring about 15 by 10 inches), their near correspondence as to margins, and the fact that each has 26 lines of text to a page, indicate that they were produced in the same *scriptorium*; but the Persius is the older.

On that hypothesis, variations of language would seem to indicate the order of gift, as 1. the Missal, 2. the Gospels, 3. the Persius. Of the rest, given after the transference of the seat to Exeter, the order would seem to be 4. the Prudentius, 5. the Gregory, 6. the Boethius. **SECTION 13.**

It is open to argument, however, that the books which mention where the episcopal seat is were the first given, and that in the later gifts the words in question were dropped as superfluous.

The variations in the curse may be similarly arranged in varying order, and other differences may be alleged in favour of more than one arrangement. The scheme which I give does not claim even to satisfy me, but I have no time left to deal with the subject exhaustively, and a comparative table will at least afford material for that being done by some one at some future day. It is necessary to add a caution, that the inscriptions are not all in the same hand, and that there is no guarantee that the words were in any specified case prescribed by Leofric, and were not copied by the writer from some previous gift of the bishop's. It is not even *certain* that any of the forms was *composed* by Leofric.

There is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, an Amalarius given by Leofric to Exeter—the knowledge of which I owe to Dr. M. R. James. According to Dr. James's catalogue of the Trinity MSS. (I. 327), it has an inscription *at end* which substantially agrees with that of the Gregory, but has *e* for all the four *æ* terminations, *gif* for *gef*, *into*, *paer*, *aefter filgendum*, *nitpeorðnysse*, *æt brede*. Had I been inserting it in the following list, I should have put it between the Gregory and the Boethius.

The Anglo-Saxon curse in the Boethius is left imperfect, *for* being the beginning of a compound verb. Had the writer qualms as to *what* he should ask God to do for the spoiler? Under the arrangement suggested below, Leofric (assuming him to be the author of the curses) had been, as he advanced in life, gradually modifying the severity of his imprecations.

Missal (at beg.)	Hunc miſſalem LEOFRICUS ep*iſcopuſ* dat æccl*eſi*æ ſanct*i* petri ap*oſtol*i
Gospels (at beg.)	Hunc textum dedit leofricuſ ep*iſcopuſ* æccl*eſi*æ ſanct*i* petri ap*oſtol*i
Persius (at beg.)	Hunc codicem dedit LEOFRICUS EP*ISCOPU*S æccl*eſi*æ beati petri ap*oſtol*i
Prudentius (at beg.)	Hunc librum dat leofricuſ ep*iſcopuſ* æccl*eſi*æ ſanct*i* petri ap*oſtol*i
Gregory (at end)	Hunc libru*m* dat Leofricuſ ep*iſcopuſ* æccl*eſi*æ ſanct*i* petri ap*oſtol*i
Boethius (at end)	Hunc librum dat leofricuſ ep*iſcopuſ* æccl*eſi*æ ſanct*i* petri ap*oſtol*i
Missal	in exonia
Gospels	in exonia
Persius	in exonia
Prudentius	in exonia ad ſede*m* ſua*m* epiſcopale*m* · p*ro* remedio animæ ſuæ
Gregory	in exonia ad ſedem ſua*m* epiſcopale*m* · p*ro* remedio animæ ſuæ
Boethius	in exonia ubi ſedeſ epiſcopaliſ eſt
Missal	ad utilitatem ſucceſſoru*m* ſuoru*m* · Siquiſ illu*m* inde abſtulerit ·
Gospels	ad utilitatem ſucceſſoru*m* ſuoru*m* · Siquiſ illu*m*abſtulerit ·
Persius	ad utilitatem ſucceſſoru*m* ſuor*um* · Siquiſ illum illinc abſtulerit ·
Prudentius	ad utilitatem ſucceſſorum ſuorum · Siquiſ aute*m* illu*m* inde abſtulerit ·
Gregory	ad utilitatem ſucceſſoru*m* ſuor*um* · Siq*ui*ſ aute*m* illu*m* inde abſtulerit ·
Boethius	ad utilitatem ſucceſſorum ſuor*um* · Siquiſ illu*m* abſtulerit inde ·
Missal	æt*er*næ subiaceat maledictioni · FIAT · FIAT · Confirma hoc d*eu*ſ q*uo*d op*er*atuſ eſ in nobiſ ·
Gospels	æt*er*næ subiaceat maledictioni · Fiat · Fiat · Fiat ·
Persius	æt*er*næ subiaceat maledictioni · FIAT · FIAT · FIAT ·
Prudentius	perpetuæ maledictioni sub iaceat · Fiat ·
Gregory	p*er*petuæ maledictioni subiaceat · Fiat ·
Boethius	subiaceat maledictioni . Fiat ·

SECTIONS 13, 14.

Missal	Ðaꞅ boc leoꝼꞃic biꞅceop ᵹeꝼ ſancto petro·
Gospels	Ðaꞅ cꞃiſteꞅ boc ᵹeꝼ leoꝼꞃic biꞅcop ſancto petro·
Persius	Þaꞅ boc ᵹeꝼ leoꝼꞃic biꞅcop ſancto petro
Prudentius	Ðaꞅ boc ᵹeꝼ leoꝼꞃic biꞅcop into ſancte peteꞃeꞅ mẏnſtꞃe þæꞃ hiꞅ biꞅcop ſtol iꞅ·
Gregory	Ðaꞅ boc ᵹeꝼ leoꝼꞃic biꞅcop in to ſancte peteꞃeꞅ minſtꞃe on exanceſtꞃe þæꞃ hiꞅ biꞅcopſtol iꞅ·
Boethius	Ðaꞅ boc ᵹeꝼ leoꝼꞃic. biꞅceop. into ſancte peteꞃeꞅ mẏnſtꞃe on exan ceſtꞃe þæꞃ hiꞅ biꞅceop ſtol iꞅ·

Missal	7 eallum hiꞅ æꝼteꞃᵹenᵹum into exanceſtꞃe ᵹode mid to þenienne·
Gospels	7 eallum hiꞅ æꝼteꞃᵹenᵹum into exanceſtꞃe ᵹode mid to þenienne·
Persius	7 eallum hiꞅ æꝼteꞃᵹenᵹum in to exanceaſtꞃe·
Prudentius	hiꞅ æꝼteꞃ ꝼolᵹendum to nẏtƿeoꞃðnẏꞅꞅe·
Gregory	hiꞅ æꝼteꞃꝼolᵹendum to nittƿeoꞃðniꞅꞅe·
Boethius	ꝼoꞃ hiꞅ ſaƿle alẏꞅednẏſꞅe.

Missal	7 ᵹiꝼ hiᵹ æniᵹ man ut abꞃede· hæbbe he ᵹodeꞅ cuꞃꞅ. and ƿꞃæððe ealꞃa halᵹena·
Gospels	7 ᵹiꝼ hiᵹ æniᵹ man utabꞃede· hæbbe he ᵹodeꞅ cuꞃꞅ · 7 ƿꞃæððe ealꞃa halᵹena·
Persius	7 ᵹiꝼ hiᵹ æniᵹ man utabꞃede· hæbbe he ᵹodeꞅ cuꞃꞅ 7 ƿꞃæþþe ealꞃa halᵹena·
Prudentius	7 ᵹiꝼ hiᵹ hƿa ut ætbꞃede· hæbbe he ece ᵹe niðeꞃunᵹe mid eallum deoꝼlum· Amen.
Gregory	7 ᵹiꝼ hiᵹ hƿa ut ætbꞃede· hæbbe he ece ᵹeniðeꞃunᵹe mid eallum deoꝼlum· Amen·
Boethius	7 ᵹiꝼ hiᵹ hƿa ut æt bꞃede· ᵹod hine ƿon

§ 14. **MS. Selden supra 27**[1] is in German hands of the 11th cent., later than 1040, and probably later than 1070. I have the immense advantage of describing it after it has already been described in print by the Rev. W. H. Frere in fasc. ii (published in 1901) of his *Bibliotheca Liturgica* (p. 73), and after a paper of elaborate notes by the Rev. H. M. Bannister, written in 1898 and 1901, had been fastened inside the MS. I shall first give the chief points of their investigations, and then add what further I find to say.

Mr. Frere characterizes the volume as a Notkerian Troper, that is, a copy of the tropes as improved by Notker, abbat of St. Gall, who died in 912. The contents of f. 1 he describes as a 'sequence' in a later hand, and illegible. On ff. 1ᵛ, 2, 2ᵛ, he finds 'Notker's dedication and preface . . . incomplete'; in ff. 3-59ᵛ 'Sequences, often headed with the name of the melody and with the music in its older form in the margin as well as over the text'; in ff. 60-80 Tropes of the Temporale and Sanctorale and Commune Sanctorum joined; in ff. 80ᵛ-89 'Tropes to Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus: and each of these, with the Creed in Greek transliterated'; and from f. 89ᵛ 'Additions for St. Bartholomew and St. John'. He finds the original first leaf to have disappeared, and another after f. 59. He derives the volume 'from Freising or Eichstädt, more probably the latter if the position of the Dedication is significant'.

Mr. Bannister regarded the volume as written by a St. Gall monk or copied from a St. Gall MS., since in the commemoration of St. Gall on f. 78 we have 'patronı noſtrı gallı'. He finds 3 sequences as yet discovered in no other MS.:—

f. 29 Dıem cælebremuſ uırgınıſ eıa (*Natale* of St. Uualtpurgis)

f. 53ᵛ Omnıſ terrarum regıo (*Natale* of St. Uunnebaldus)

f. 91ᵛ In caena deı ıohanneſ (St. John)

[1] This belonged to the great Selden, and was received by the Bodleian with the rest of the Selden collection from his executors in or about 1659.

He also finds 3 sequences[1] not preserved in any St. Gall troper:— SECTION 14.

f. 16 Exult& omnıſ a&aſ ordo ſexuſ uterq*ue* (Purification)
f. 37ᵛ Fulg& dıeſ preclaruſ cunctıſ memoranduſ ſeculıſ (*Festivitas* of Uuillibaldus)
f. 43 Summa ſtırpe genıta uırgo (*Nativitas* of the Virgin)

And he finds many tropes not used at St. Gall.

He concluded that the book was written for a German house descended from that monastery. 'The local saints (Willibald, Winnibald, Walpurgis, Ianuarius, Corbinian) have neither tropes nor proses at St. Gall; and the only churches where *all* of them are found in the Kalendars are Freising and Eichstädt'.

On f. 47ᵛ he finds the dedication-day in its proper place for St. Gall (between St. Gall and All Saints), which may be due to the scribe having copied it as he found it. But, if that position was also correct for the monastery for which the book was written, it would point not to Freising (May 2), but to Eichstädt (old date, Oct. 29) or Tegernsee (Oct. 20). The special honour paid to St. Willibald inclined him to Eichstädt (of which no tropes are otherwise known), and he finds that Willibald is not in the number of the (about) 200 saints invoked in the Tegernsee litany in MS. Rawlinson G. 163. The proses for Waltpurgis (f. 29) and Winnebald (called 'patrone', f. 54) also pointed very strongly to Eichstädt.

Mr. Bannister added that 'the aspect of the whole MS.' is very much like St. Gall in its text, neums, and 'Romanian' letters, and that the *variae lectiones* in the tropes for Kyrie, Gloria, &c., are strikingly like those in an 11th cent. Minden MS. [in the Royal Library] at Berlin (IV 11).

It is right to add that at a later date Mr. Bannister accepted the Heidenhelm origin of the MS., and has attributed it to Heidenheim in vol. xlvii of *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. But this was after my own examination had been made, and its results, now about to be given, had been put on paper.

The missing first leaf was doubtless blank (except for anything which may have been scribbled on it later), and was meant to serve merely as an outside wrapper. The second leaf (now f. 1) was left blank to receive an illuminated title, but the title was never executed; so some one wrote on it a liturgical piece. I find that this piece consists of processional verses ('Salve lacteolo') written for Innocents' Day by Hartmann of St. Gall. There were two Hartmann's of St. Gall who wrote liturgical words, and which of them wrote this piece is not absolutely certain; but, as both preceded the earliest date at which our MS. can have been written, that question can be passed over. The writing is practically contemporaneous with that of the rest of the volume. And the majority of the same verses are written again on the margin of f. 88ᵛ, and in a hand not much later. Hence I gather (1) that the wrapper-leaf had already disappeared, (2) that the second leaf (our f. 1) had therefore become the outside leaf, and (3) that consequently the verses of Hartmann had become so obliterated by rubbing that what could still be read of them was copied on to the margin of f. 88ᵛ.

Next, the fact that Notker's preface is imperfect shows that this copy was not produced at St. Gall itself, nor from a perfect St. Gall MS., but from a MS. which had lost a leaf at this point.

Coming to the musical part of the book, I note that—

i. The text of the Sequences is written mainly or wholly by one scribe, that of the Tropes mainly or wholly by another (not counting the 3 or 4 pp. of additions); but they are not distinct books bound up together, as they join on to each other in the same gathering.

ii. The original music of the Sequences is always written in the margin—according, Mr. Bannister tells me, to the invariable practice of St. Gall books. And he points out that each of the compound neums in the margin represents the neums belonging to a separate word in the text. But a syllabic notation has often been added over the text of the Sequences by various hands—some, probably, of the 12th cent. The music of the Tropes is, however, always written above the text—which, Mr. Bannister tells me, was the regular practice.

[1] These he has since published in vol. xl of *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, at pp. 315, 320, 323 respectively.

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iii. The original music of both is mainly or wholly by a single hand (apparently the scribe of the Tropes), who uses not only 'Romanian' letters but episemes. In the Tropes there are red continuation-lines.

iv. The sequences for the following feasts had no music written for them by the original hand :—
1. St. Waltpurgis (f. 29). 2. The Trinity (f. 59).
The latter comes last of all, and was probably copied from an outside leaf (of an *unbound* Sequentiary) which had become so rubbed that the music could not be copied. But a coarse, diffuse notation has been added over the text. The former has no music at all, and is also written in a manner different from every other sequence—the riming final *a*'s of all the lines being placed under each other: the significance of these facts will be considered later.

v. The sequence for St. Ianuarius (f. 51) is here placed between feasts of Nov. 16 and 21, instead of on Sept. 19 or Oct. 19. Mr. Bannister tells me that at Rheinau, where Ianuarius was patron, his chief feast was Oct. 19, but that either he or some other saint of the name was also honoured there on Ap. 8 and Nov. 20.

vi. The first leaf of the Tropes has been *cut* out, probably for the sake of a large ornamental initial such as begins the Sequences.

vii. The celebrated verses 'Hodie cantandus est nobis puer', which Ekkehard IV of St. Gall (who died about 1036) states to have been written by Tuotilo of St. Gall (who died about 898), are here (f. 62ᵛ) headed by a large rubric 'Harmanni uerfus-', i.e., are attributed to one of the two Hartmann's of St. Gall (the more famous of whom flourished about 850). Of these verses Gautier (*Tropes*, i, pp. 62-4, 139) gives two versions (from St. Gall MSS.) which agree up to a certain point and thence differ. In our MS.[1] they do not go further than the point in question, from which it may be guessed that the variant portions were later additions. And most of the continuation of Gautier's second version is given in our MS. as part of a preceding trope.

And now for the *provenance* of the volume.

The combination of the three saints, Willibald, Wunnebald, and Waltpurgis (Waldburga)—two brothers and their sister—none of whom had sequences in the ordinary Notkerian troper—points at once to the Bavarian city of Eichstädt (of which Willibald was the first bishop) or to its neighbourhood. It is noticeable also that the commemoration of Willibald, which occurs both in the sequences (f. 37) and in the tropes (f. 80), is on each occasion called in the rubric a 'feftiuitas', which is done in no other case except those of St. 'Affra' (f. 44) and All Saints (f. 48ᵛ)—the regular forms being 'Innatale, &c.' or 'Defancto, &c.'.

It is, however, not to Eichstädt itself, but to Heidenheim, 22 miles N.W. in the same diocese, that I refer our MS. Heidenheim contained a Benedictine monastery founded about the middle of the 8th cent. by Wunnebald (Pertz, *Mon. Ger. hist.* xv, i, p. 111), after consultation with his brother Willibald. He became its first abbat, and afterwards erected near it a Benedictine nunnery (*Acta Sanctorum*, *Feb.* vol. iii, p. 566), of which his sister, Waldburga, became abbess, dying there about 780. Of either of these two, Wunnebald might be called 'patron' much more properly than of Eichstädt itself.

After Wunnebald's death, Waldburga took charge of both houses, and soon after *her* death (at any rate before 802) the monastery of men was turned into a house of Canons, and so remained until the middle of the 12th cent.

[1] And in the Troper from Novalesa, MS. Douce 222, f. 7.

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The 'prose' in honour of Waltpurgis (f. 29) narrates a string of miracles wrought by her, with the names of the persons cured, and ends with the prayer

> 'Sualaueldıs tu dıgnerıs ınteresse placata ·
> Vırgunculas tıbı datas atq; xp̄o commenda
> Adducantur ıllı & ora'.

'Mayest thou, reconciled, deign to be present among the Sualaveldians, and commend to Christ the little virgins given to thee, and pray they be led to him', Sualaveld (modern Schwanfeld) being the name of the district in which Heidenheim lies (but not Eichstädt).

I have no doubt whatever that the volume was written by the Canons of Heidenheim, who doubtless also ministered at the services of the neighbouring nunnery. The peculiar manner in which the prose in honour of Waltpurgis is written, with riming final *a*'s[1] carried to the margin, indicates that it was a local addition. Its being without music may be due to the music intended for it never having been composed[2]. The case of the final prose for the Trinity is parallel. In each case the A of *Alleluia* has been rubricated in the margin, but in each case the *EVIA* which usually follow have been omitted—probably as a sign that the music was not ready—and in each case no music has been inserted by the original hand, though in that of the prose for the Trinity a later hand has supplied some. Mr. Bannister points out the same absence of original music, and of the letters EVIA, in the two non-Notkerian sequences, for the Annunciation on f. 18 and for St. Michael on f. 45ᵛ, and remarks that, whereas the initial A of *Alleluia* is usually rubricated, the EVIA are usually in ordinary ink and were added by the writer of the marginal music.

As the commemoration of St. Afra (f. 44), a special local saint of Augsburg, is called a *festivitas*, I strongly suspect that the sequences were copied from an Augsburg book. In the 8th cent. monks had been brought from the monastery of St. Gall to Augsburg (Pertz, SS. XIV, 557); there was a church there dedicated to St. Gall; and there was a confraternity between the monastery of St. Gall and the 'fathers' in Augsburg (*Libri confraternitatum*, 144), i.e., the cathedral church of St. Mary. Perhaps such an Augsburg book might have been written in the house of Canons dedicated to St. Afra, founded in 964, but made Benedictine in 1012.

The book from which the *Tropes* were copied was, however, certainly not written either at St. Gall or at Augsburg. The trope for St. Gall is out of place, later than it ought to be, and was probably added at Heidenheim, and Saints Afra, Maurice, Otmar, Ianuarius, and Columban are all omitted.

On the other hand two new saints appear, Sebastian (f. 68, *Deus iudex iuſtuſ fortiſ*) and Corbinian (f. 76, *Hodie feſtum recolamuſ*). These are practically decisive evidence that the exemplar of the Tropes was written for Ebersberg in the diocese of Freising. For Corbinian, first bishop of Freising, was the special diocesan saint, and about the year 928 relics of St. Sebastian were brought to Ebersberg, *where there was a house of Canons* founded in 911, which was turned into a Benedictine monastery in 990. This house was dedicated to St. Sebastian.

In 990 the Ebersberg house of Canons was turned into a Benedictine monastery, and so in 1012 was the Augsburg house. Doubtless the disbanded Canons sought homes in the nearest foundations of their own order, and so an Ebersberg Tropary and perhaps an Augsburg Sequentiary reached Heidenheim, to be copied in the late 11th cent. into the volume before us.

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[1] These *a*'s are almost invariably of open cursive form, and in such cases were probably added by the scribe who wrote the marginal music of the sequences.

[2] Referring to the saint's life by Wolfhard, written very late in the 9th cent. and printed in Pertz's *Mon. Ger. hist.* XV, 1, pp. 538, &c., I find that the following clauses of the sequence refer to miracles in the book and section of Wolfhard which I have indicated:—

Inprimis Iiubilam—I, §10.
Leibolfo—I, §11.
Morte tenta—I, §3.
Sensit gaila—I, 17.

But I have not found in Wolfhard the miracle referred to in the clause beginning *Quid tu tyura*.

SECTIONS 14, 15.

The subsequent history of that volume, till it came into the hands of Selden, is unknown to me. Between 1148 and 1152 the Heidenheim house of Canons was re-converted into a Benedictine monastery, and the MS. may have migrated to some other canonical establishment. In 1525 the Heidenheim monastery was wasted by the insurgent Peasants, and in 1537 it ceased to exist. The binding of the volume is 17th cent. English.

§ 15. I must now refer to that exquisite little liturgical volume, **MS. Douce 222**[1], written towards the close of the 11th cent. It contains neum-writing of various styles, and coloured lines are used by most of the writers where a syllable has to be prolonged; but I see no rudiments of a stave.

The facsimile shows a sharp line of division in style. On the left-hand page (f. 101^{v}) the neums are very simple, but on the right-hand one (f. 102) a new scribe begins, using some curious symbols which were strange to me (see Facsimile No. 36).

I have not read through the music, but have run my eye down each of the 414 pp. of vellum (taking in at least a third of the page). Up to f. 101^{v} I see no letters used except *ſ* (39 times) and *f* (10 times). Now *ſ* was frequently used as a 'Romanian' letter, meaning *sursum*, i.e., 'up'. But *f*, meaning *ut cum fragore feriatur*, 'strike with a forcible noise', is 'd'un emploi très rare' (*Paléographie musicale* IV, p. 14): hence I supposed that these 39 *f*'s could not possibly be 'Romanian' letters, but must indicate the note *f* in one of the systems of alphabetic notation. The last two instances of the letter will be seen on the left-hand side of the facsimile—one over the beginning of l. 9, the other near the end of l. 10: from the height of the following neum here and elsewhere, any note indicated would be clearly a high one, and might be taken as equal to *f* in the scale given in note 4 on p. lii. Mr. Bannister, however, believes that the value of the letter is not alphabetic but significative, in spite of the rarity of such use elsewhere.

From f. 102 onwards I see no *f* except one on f. 204. On f. 107^{v} *ſ* is found once, in suspiciously light ink; the common significative *t* is used twice on f. 103^{v} and thrice on f. 107^{v}; while the common significative *l* is put in once on f. 107^{v} and f. 108, and twice on f. 161—but each time in suspiciously light ink. Examples of the curious symbols already alluded to may be seen on the right-hand side of the facsimile—in l. 5 over *am me*, in l. 8 over *rubef*, in l. 10 over *pectant*. Mr. Bannister tells me, from his knowledge of the actual melodies, that the one like a Greek *θ* is a *pes flexus*; that the one like *θb* is a *pes flexus resupinus*; and that the remaining one is the *flexus resupinus*. He has since found them in the British Museum Add. MS. 30850, an antiphoner in Visigothic writing of the 11th cent., once at Burgos—a facsimile from which is given in *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages* (pl. 4), and in a very few other MSS., French, English (Winchester), or Italian.

The difference of notation, of text-hand, of illumination, and of ruling, in these opposite pages of course suggests further investigation, which shows that the volume is a collection of manuscripts, by different scribes, bound up together.

Its parts are as follows:—

I. ff. 2^{v}-79^{v}, a book of Tropes, &c., and Litanies, by scribe A. Gatherings 1-6 have 6 leaves each, and 15 lines[2] to a page. Gathering 7 had originally only 4 leaves, of which the last 2 were blank, because A. had no more to write: he ended on f. 79^{v}, leaving the last line of that also blank. In the long litany he increases his lines to 23, nor does he put any neums to it. In I the chief initials (ff. 2^{v}, 6, 18^{v}, 35^{v}) are of exquisite interlaced design, in which red predominates: the rest are very plain, and no green is used anywhere. In notation we have both *ſ* and *f*. There are red continuation-lines, but sometimes only a space is left on the ordinary line.

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[1] Bequeathed by Francis Douce the antiquary, who died in 1834.

[2] On f. 6^{v} he leaves the top line blank. At the foot of the previous page he has squeezed in a 2-line rubric. Probably in the book in front of him this rubric was divided between the 2 pages, but he preferred to get it into a single page, leaving the next line blank so as not to disturb the parallelism of his music with the original. In other words, his music is apparently copied page for page and line for line from another MS.

SECTION 15.

II, ff. 80-81v, additions to I, by scribes B. and C. B. cut away the original f. 80 (perhaps because it had been scribbled on) and put a new leaf in its place, on which he inserted a 'farced Kyrie' (Mr. Bannister), with neums. Unlike A., he uses no colour.

Then came C., with some green initials, writing a prose for the Assumption of the Virgin, and leaving half the last page of the gathering (A.'s final gathering) blank. He has a green continuation-line.

Both B. and C. keep to the scheme of 15 lines to a page. No letters appear in their notation.

III, ff. 82-101v, a book of Proses. This is by scribe D., also writing 15 lines to a page. Gathering 1 is of 6 leaves, gathering 2 of 4 only, and, as the collection ends at that point very imperfectly (in the middle of the last stanza of a prose for Ascension-day), the writer may have made his second gathering smaller because he was *copying* another imperfect book which ended at the same point. Two proses have no neums: going through the remainder, I find *f* as in I, but no *f*. There are some red continuation-lines, and blank spaces are often left on the ordinary line—without notes above them—which (Mr. Bannister tells me) indicate prolongation of the last note. The facsimile shows the last page of III.

IV, ff. 102-204, by scribe E., a collection of Offertories with their Verses, and occasionally their Proses or *Verba*, followed (f. 174) by processional Anthems for the period from Christmas to Easter, &c. The singularity of some of E.'s notation has been already referred to, and the illumination of IV is quite different, abounding in red, or black and red, initials with branch-like ornamentation. The facsimile shows the opening page. Lines 1, 2 are red: line 3 black, red, and yellow except the large A, which is bright green with yellow borders; in the bottom line the U at beginning is red, the D black and red. The gatherings are of 6 leaves till the scribe got to the end of his work, when he made one of 4 only, beginning on f. 198. Up to f. 185 E. had written 11 lines only to a page; he then reduced his hand and wrote 12 lines to a page. He seems originally to have ended on f. 198v, leaving the last 2 lines blank; but afterwards made additions down to f. 204, of which he left the last 4 lines blank. In IV *f* is found once (on the last page)—and *l*, *f*, *t* as mentioned in a previous paragraph. There are red continuation-lines, but sometimes only a space is left on the ordinary line[1]. Moreover E. very often prolongs the strokes of his letters so as to serve as continuation-lines. Thus on f. 149v the cross line of an N is twice carried horizontally a quarter-of-an-inch!

V, ff. 204v-207v, additions to IV, by scribes F., G., H. F. writes 12 lines to a page, and occupies f. 204v, the upper half of f. 205, ff. 206, 206v: he makes a new gathering of 2 leaves, but leaves the last leaf blank. G. writes (in the middle of F.'s work) the lower half of f. 205, and f. 205v: he has 13 or 14 lines in a page. H. writes a prose in honour of St. Nicolaus on the leaf left blank by F.: his hand is very rude, and he has 20 lines to a page.

In the music of F., G., H., I see no alphabetic notation: F. has the curious *θ* found in IV: the neums of H. are almost confined to short perpendicular strokes. F. and G. use red continuation-lines: but F.'s have oxidized and are almost black. F. and G. have also written on f. 2, that is, the outer blank page of I. There F. leaves spaces on the line, but G. has a brown continuation-line. And, finally, *before* f. 2 a new gathering of a leaf (f. 1) and guard has been inserted to serve as a cover either to I, or, as I suspect, to the entire collection: and I suspect also that f. 207 (on which H. wrote) was meant to serve as a cover at the other end[2]. Inside f. 1 yet one more scribe, I, has added an Alleluia Verse, using brown continuation-lines.

[1] This may be a mere oversight. For, while in I the red continuation-lines were put in before the next line was written, in IV they were not put in till afterwards.

[2] The outer page is so nearly obliterated as to make it almost certain that it was the outside of the book.

SECTION 15. I have said that the MS. was written towards the close of the 11th cent. It is clear that H. wrote after F. and G., and that F., G., B., C., and I. all wrote after A. Now A. in the long litany invokes St. Odilo, who did not die till Dec. 31, 1048, or Jan 1, 1049—and of course his recognition as a saint may have been deferred for a good many years after that; but it was not later than 1064.

Of the relative age of I, III, IV we have no proof. Certainly III and IV, and I believe I as well, are from the same monastery, all being in small writing of the Tours style, with occasional antiquarian use of *N* instead of *n*. In IV the antiquarianisms are simply astounding, and in III also they are more notable than in I; but I cannot put any of the three earlier than the latter half of the 11th cent., and suspect them to have been all written in its last quarter. The manner in which the tops of tall letters in III and IV are frequently formed, leaving a split in them, and the style of the large branching initials in IV, practically establish this late dating in spite of the archaisms of the scribes. The difference between IV on the one side, and I and III on the other, as to the number of lines, is apparently due to scribe E. wishing to get more compass for his neums: he certainly does so utilize the extra space at his disposal.

Where was the volume written? A note at the beginning, in an 18th cent. hand, doubtless that of De Levis, says that the MS. seems to belong to Novalesa owing to a two-fold mention of St. Heldradus: Heldradus had been abbat of it, and became its special saint. L. Gautier in his *Hist. de la poésie liturgique* i, p. 136, doubtfully attributes the volume to St. Gall. Mr. Frere in his *Winchester Troper* spoke of it as the Novalaise troper[1]. Mr. Madan has catalogued it as written 'in North Italy'. In a note at the end of that volume of the catalogue I said that it could not have been written *at* Novalaise, and urged that the writing and ornamentation indicated France as the mother-country of the MS.: but the two or three days which were all I could then spare for its examination were quite inadequate. The Rev. H. M. Bannister then spent a long time upon it and devoted much pains to convince me that some of my arguments must be abandoned[2] and that it was written for Novalesa[3]. Finally, Mr. Madan has communicated to me a discovery of his own, that the MS. actually belonged in 1778 to Novalesa, the abbat of which gave it to De Levis (see De Levis's *Anecdota sacra*, pp. xxix, xxxii, xl-xlviii).

But at the time when this MS. was written Novalesa was neither the only nor the chief seat of its monastic community. In consequence of Saracen invasion they had fled to Turin early in the 10th cent., and were subsequently endowed about 929 with a monastery at Bremetum, over 80 miles E. of Novalesa, and a little over 30 W. of Pavia, close to the left bank of the Po, about 20 kilometres S.W. of Mortara. The community was known as that of Breme *and* Novalesa, Novalesa itself being ordinarily (at least from 1093) in charge only of a prior, and the abbat ordinarily residing at Breme: it is not till 1599 that we once more hear of an abbat of Novalesa by itself. In 1093 Breme *cum* Novalesa was made over to the diocesan church of St. Syrus at Pavia, in which diocese Bremetum lay.

III contains no proses for saints except for those feasts of Stephen (f. 87^{v}), John (f. 88^{v}), Innocents (f. 89), and the Virgin (f. 93 Purification, f. 94 Annunciation) which come into the *Proprium de tempore*; it has very little chance of throwing a light on its own origin. But, while John has only 1 prose, Stephen has 2, and Novalesa had a cell dedicated to Stephen (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia vetustiora*, p. 151)—which seems to have been near Roddi and Verduno, not far from Alba.

In IV there are commemorations of Stephen (f. 109), George (f. 146), Vitalis (f. 148), Laurence (f. 157^{v}), the Virgin ([5]'NAT', f. 157^{v}), Michael (f. 158^{v}), and Peter (f. 160).

[1] He subsequently used the form Novalesa in his *Bibliotheca Musico-liturgica*.

[2] Such corrections and modifications as I thought called for appeared in the next volume of the catalogue at pp. xx-xxi.

[3] This form will be used in my present description. The place (which is in Piedmont) must not be confused with Novalaise in Savoy.

[4] In 1502 Novalesa claimed to have some of their bones (Cipolla, Memoirs of the Royal Acad. of Turin, ser. 2, vol. 44, *Scienze morali, &c.*, p. 266).

[5] Presumably her nativity, but just possibly her *natale*, i.e., assumption: see H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, I, p. 132.

Breme *cum* Novalesa sent ships (Cipolla, p. 152) to Ferrara, the cathedral of which was dedicated to George, and to Ravenna, of which the patron was Vitalis; also it had a castle of St. George (*ib.*), a church of St. Laurence (*id.*, p. 240), and (in 1203, at least) relics of this last saint (Cipolla in Memoirs of Royal Acad. of Turin, ser. 2, vol. 45, *Scienze morali, &c.*, p. 169): while there was an apse of St. Michael in the Abbey of Novalesa (*Chron. Novalic.*, v, 44). There is no commemoration of Andrew, who was joint patron of Novalesa, and after whom it had a cell named in Turin: but after 929 his name seems to be dropped in the style of the abbey. The absence of a commemoration of Heldradus—if this be a Novalesa or Breme book—is at first sight more staggering, but in later times there was an extremely full office for his day (printed by Cipolla, p. 354) in the Novalesa missal, and there may have been a similar one in its sacramentary of the 11th cent. superseding the necessity for any commemoration here. SECTION 15.

The particular saints honoured in I outside the litanies are Gregory[1] (f. 2^{v}), as the father of church music, Stephen (f. 9), John (f. 10), Innocents (f. 10^{v}), the Virgin (Purification, f. 13^{v}; Assumption, f. 20^{v}; Birth, f. 31), Benedict (f. 15), John the Baptist[1] (f. 26), Peter (f. 27 and ad Vincula, f. 19^{v}), Michael (f. 32^{v}), Martin (f. 34), Andrew (f. 34^{v}). Here a Novalesa origin is supported by the inclusion of Andrew, the fact that Peter has 2 commemorations and bears the style of 'patroni Nr̄i', 'our patron' (f. 27), while Martin was brought up at Pavia, lived some time at Milan, and has Piedmontese foundations in his honour. In the *first* litany[2] the invocation of Heldrahus (*sic*, f. 71) as one of 3 abbats certainly means either connexion with or proximity to Novalesa; which of the two will be considered later. In the *second* litany the choice (f. 72) of Solutor, of Turin, as one of the 3 martyrs[3], points to that diocese. In the *third* litany[4] (f. 73^{v}) the 3 confessors are Syrus, Nicolahus (*sic*), and Waleric, Syrus being doubtless the saint of Pavia (the diocese in which Breme lay), while the body of a saint named Waleric is said (*Chron. Novalic.* iii, 15) to have been given to Novalesa, and the inclusion of St. Nicholas[5] (and the insertion of a piece in his honour at the end of the volume) consists with the fact that he was the special saint of sailors and that Breme *cum* Novalesa sent ships to Ravenna: but Mr. Bannister tells me that the veneration of this saint was particularly popular in Italy at the time.

In the long litany there are no fewer than 108 martyrs, so that the inclusion of one at all frequently venerated counts for very little. The North Italian element in it is extremely strong, and a few names call for special notice. Benignus of Dijon is notable on f. 76: he was the patron saint of Piedmont, and there was a San Benigno between Novalesa and Breme. Sod*e*rus may be the Pavia martyr known as Soter or Saterius. Solutor, Aduentor, and Octavius, of Turin are all invoked, and apparently the Turin saint Secundus[6]. So is Acius, or Achius, a very rare French martyr (though Mr. Bannister finds him occasionally in N. Italy) whom I learn from the Novalesa Chronicle (v, 35) to have been venerated with his companion Acheolus by the Breme *cum* Novalesa community, which is said to have had a tomb of them. Finally, the martyr Frontinianus is invoked: he is known to Grotefend only at Alba in Piedmont, but I find that relics of him and of Silvester were given at Alba to one of the abbats of Breme *cum* Novalesa (*Chron.* v, 34).

[1] In 1502 Novalesa claimed to have bones of Gregory and dust of John the Baptist (Cipolla, Memoirs of the Royal Acad. of Turin, ser 2, vol. 44, *Scienze morali, &c.*, p. 266).

[2] The 3 martyrs are Stephen, Laurence, Vincent: in 1502 Novalesa claimed to have relics of a St. Vincent (see last note). The three bishops are Silvester, Leo, Gregory: for Silvester see end of next paragraph.

[3] It may be asked why Saturninus, presumably the bishop of Toulouse, is first of the 3 martyrs, and why in the long litany he is placed second among 108 martyrs, coming next to Stephen. Where the *Proprium Sanctorum* of a monastery began, not with January, but with Advent (as it does in the 12th cent. Novalesa or Breme missal to be mentioned further on), Saturninus, whose feast was on Nov. 29, was liable to be the first saint in it: see for instance MS. Lat. liturg. f. 12, a 15th cent. breviary of the Benedictines of St. Xystus, Piacenza, purchased for the Bodleian the very day on which I write. Since the above part of this note was written, Mr. Bannister tells me that in the 'Novalesa missal' (which he has lately seen) Saturninus *is* commemorated at the place in question.

[4] The 3 Apostles are Peter, Paul, and Bartholomew: in 1502 Novalesa claimed to have relics of a St. Bartholomew (see note 1 above).

[5] In 1502 Novalesa claimed to have relics of a saint of this name (see note 1 above).

[6] I think the scribe wrote *Sod'e*, but that he has altered the *o* to a *e*.

SECTION 15.

Very strange at first sight is the omission of Iustus and Flavianus. They were alleged to be martyred monks of a monastery once existing near, and subordinate to, Novalesa. The former was honoured in the name of the important abbey of St. Iustus at Susa, founded in the very century[1] in which this MS. was written. And Susa was not only the nearest town to Novalesa, being within 6 miles of it, but was, so to speak, its county-town.

Mr. Bannister, however, has pointed out to me that the *Acta Sanctorum* of Oct. 18 throw the gravest doubt on the existence of St. Iustus. A contemporary Cluniac historian, Rodulfus Glaber, who was actually present at the consecration of the Susa monastery, declares that the alleged finding of the bones of Iustus was a mere fraud on the part of a disreputable hawker, who went about, under various aliases, digging up newly buried corpses and selling them as bodies of saints: he heard this fellow questioned as to how he knew the bones to be those of Iustus, and heard his reply that an angel had taken him out of bed night after night and talked to him. And, as Rodulfus has a special reputation for pious credulity, what *he* believed to be a fraud is pretty sure to have been so. The Iustus in question, moreover, was alleged to be the Iustus venerated on the same day at Beauvaix and Auxerre, a saint totally unconnected with Piedmont. Of Flavianus, Rodulfus says nothing, nor does the contemporary foundation-deed.

To the presence of an office of St. Iustus in the Novalesa breviary in merely modern times no importance can be attached. The 11th cent. Novalesa Chronicle[2], however, speaks of the martyrdom of Iustus and Flavianus and of their epitaphs (ii, 14): and, although at this point it loses a leaf, we may fairly assume that the writer identified them with the saints of Susa. But Adraldus, who was abbat of Breme in 1060 (but whose length of tenure is unknown), had been a disciple of St. Odilo of Cluny (St. Peter Damian, *Vita Odilonis*) to whom Rodulfus dedicated his chronicle, and had doubtless been Rodulfus's fellow-monk at Cluny. Hence he and his generation were extremely likely to reject the story told by the itinerant hawker, and to leave St. Iustus out of their litany.

Among the 31 bishops in the long litany, Silvester (see above) is first, while Hermagoras, Syrus, and Yuentius come second, third, and fourth: Syrus was bishop of Pavia, was sent there by Hermagoras, and was succeeded there by Yuentius. Among the 41 monks and hermits we have Waleric again, and Eldradus of Novalesa. Among the 38 virgins is Ecatelina—a very early Western tribute to St. Catherine of Alexandria: the initial E arises out of one of the Greek forms (Αἰκατερίνα, &c.), and she is found in Latin as Æcaterina (Hardwick, *Hist. inquiry touching Saint Catharine of Alexandria*, p. 5): for the change of *r* to *l* compare Spanish Catelina, German Katelinentag (Grotefend, i, p. 106), and Irish Kathleen.

After making every deduction for coincidences such as the possession of relics of the most popular saints, which it might have been easy to parallel in the case of other monasteries, there remain clear indications that this volume was produced *for* some branch of the Breme *cum* Novalesa community[3]. That it can have been produced *in* either Novalesa or Breme seems at first sight equally hard to admit in face of the spelling *Heldrahæ* in the first litany (f. 71). The final *æ* for *e* is a frequent error of scribe A., and no weight whatever attaches to it. The *h* may be a blunder[4] for *d* or may represent a variety of pronunciation. If it is a blunder, no scribe who

[1] In 1029. If it be suggested that this litany was copied from one earlier than that foundation, the presence of Ecatelina in it makes this very unlikely: her veneration in the West is supposed to have begun with the bringing of some of her relics to Rouen not long after 1025 (Fleury, *Hist. eccl.*, lix, §27): they were afterwards placed in a new monastery, but this was not dedicated till 1030 (*Gallia Christiana*, xi, 125).

[2] The last date in the Chronicle is 1048. It has been wrongly inferred that book II was written before 1027, because the translation of Iustus is not mentioned: both the translation and invention may have been mentioned on the leaf missing at this point.

[3] There is one dangerous objection to be anticipated. According to the Novalesa Chronicle (iii, 15), Karl the Great gave Saints Cosmas and Damian to Novalesa, and in 1502 (see a previous reference) it had a chapel dedicated to them. Why, then, are they not invoked in any of the three short litanies, and only low down among the martyrs in the long one? The answer is that the 1502 list of relics contained in this chapel does not mention any relics of the two saints themselves, and that according to MSS. of Adam of Bremen (contained in the same volume of Pertz as the Novalesa Chronicle) Cosmas and Damian (ii, §11) were brought from Italy by Adaldag, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, between 936 and 988. Had Breme (*Bremetum*) agreed for some consideration to transfer them to Bremen (*Brema*)?

[4] The name might have been in capitals in the MS. copied from, and a D imperfect at the bottom might have been misread as ℌ.

was an inmate either of Novalesa or Breme could possibly so miswrite the name of the special saint of the joint community. If it represents a variety of pronunciation, we ought to be able to find some other instance, or at least some parallel. But, although we have plenty of instances of Eldradus's name, and, although we find variations in it, representing stages in the history of its local pronunciation, this is not one of them, nor can I discover that either in Piedmontese or in any dialect of any Romance language such a change as *-ad-* to *-ah-* is known[1]: if the *d* does not remain *d*, it becomes *dh* or *y* or *t* or drops altogether. In ordinary Italian, Eldradus has become Eldrado, in Piedmontese Eldra. SECTION IX.

There are two loopholes of escape from this difficulty. The first is to suppose that between Eldrad- and Eldra there may have been intermediate forms Eldradh- and Eldrah-. The second is to suppose that *Eldrahe* might = *Eldra-e*, with *h* inserted either to prevent hiatus (as often in Portuguese, e.g., *trahir* for *trair* = Lat. *tradere*), or to show that the *ae* were to be pronounced separately and not as a diphthong. This latter suggestion would derive strong support from the fact that in both the places (ff. 73^{v}, 78) where St. Nicholas is invoked it is not as *Nicolae* but as Nicolahę. Of course we must suppose (1) that in Piedmontese the name had become Eldrao as early as the 11th cent., (2) that from the local vernacular form a Latinized Eldra(h)us was set up beside the original Eldradus. Neither of these things is impossible: indeed for Latin *gradu*, Italian *grado*, modern Milanese *grā*, *old* Milanese has *grao*. The fact remains that no other instance of Eldrahus or Eldraus has been produced. It is also noticeable that in the long litany he is invoked as *Eldra de*, with a gap in writing which suggests unfamiliarity with the name: such gaps, however, are not uncommon in the neumed litanies, and perhaps the long litany may have been originally neumed.

There remains a final possibility that the *h* may be a blundered reminiscence of the lost initial *H*, just as after *pneuma* had become *neuma* we find *neupma*, and after *psaume*, &c., had become *saume*, &c., we find *seaupme*, *sialpmes*, *sepaulme*, *sauptiers*, and *sapmistes*, while the name of Anaraut, king of Anglesey in 912, which is derived from Honoratus, is also written Anarauht and Anarauth.

Attention must be called to one other spelling in the same litany—St. Odil*o* is addressed as 'Odile', as if his name were Odilus. The Bollandists in giving his life (*Acta Sanctorum*, 1 Jan.) say '*Odo à quibusdam appellatur, ab aliis Odilus*', but none the less the correct form of the name is Odilo, and, while I find the *o* form in the indexes to 23 separate volumes of Pertz's *Monumenta*, I do not find the *-us* form in one. Now Odilo had a nephew, *also* named Odilo, who was abbat of Breme *cum* Novalesa from 1027 to 1031, and caused such trouble that he was deposed (*Chron. Novalic.*, p. 125). Moreover, abbat Adraldus, as we have seen, had been a disciple of St. Odilo. So that it seems to me very difficult to suppose that the scribe using this incorrect form was an inmate of Breme or Novalesa, unless he was a comparatively new comer.

Let me now refer to the palaeographical evidence for or against Novalesa origin.

In Cipolla's *Monumenta* may be seen facsimiles of deeds relating to Novalesa. One written in 1025 at Turin, one written in 1031 at Gonzole, are very opposite in style to our MS.; while one written at Novalesa in 1097 is not opposite, but has no resemblance worth mentioning.

Cipolla has also published in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Turin, *Scienze morali*, &c., ser. 2, vols. 44-5, facsimiles of various books which belonged to the abbey:—

1. Vol. 44, opposite p. 88, a page of a 9th or 10th cent. MS. of Caesarius of Arles—place of writing unknown. The hand is a nice, small French one, but except in an NT ligature I do not see the N for *n* so frequent in I, III, IV, nor do I see the curious *ro* combination so very frequent in III and IV, or their R for *r*. Other striking peculiarities, namely ʍ and ≻–≺ for *m*, are also wanting.

[1] See Meyer-Lübke's Romance grammar, French trans., pp. 386-390.

SECTION 18.

2. Vol. 44, opposite p. 150, examples of a martyrology used at Novalesa, but not known to have been written there. It contains notes relating to the abbey, some in hands kindred to those of our MS.; two of these hands have *N* for *n*, but none has the special peculiarities of III and IV.

3. Vol. 44, opposite p. 242, examples of a missal which Cipolla treats as written at Novalesa, and which was certainly written to be used there or at Breme or at both places. The considerable differences of text, neums, and ornamentation are of no weight, as the MS. is later than that before us.

Lastly, there is the Novalesa Chronicle itself, of which a facsimile is published in Pertz's *Monumenta, Script.* VII, opposite p. 76. This again presents no resemblance worth mention; in fact the several hands shown in it are all more or less unlike those of our MS. in general style. The editor concludes (p. 74) that the author, who was also one of the scribes, wrote it partly at Breme and partly at the cell of St. Andrew, Turin.

Let me add that there is a peculiar mode of forming the tops of tall letters practised by the scribes of III and IV[1] which I do not find in any of the above-mentioned facsimiles. Instead of being forked in the ordinary manner of the late 11th cent., they are sometimes in III, and abundantly in IV, split as if a wedge had been driven down the top of the letter. The scribes of III and IV, indeed, clearly belong to a distinctive local school, and I regret to have been unable to find any other trace of it.

And now to sum up. That the MS. was written at Breme or Novalesa, or St. Andrew's, Turin, or some other cell[2] of the community—or in more than one of these houses—I have no doubt. The description of Peter as patron is against St. Andrew's, Turin, or the cell of St. Stephen. The spelling Eldrahe is a stumbling-block in the case of both Breme and Novalesa, and so is the fact that of the 9 separate writers of music in this volume (or 8, excluding scribe B.'s work as unfinished) not one has copied a trope or prose in honour of the only celebrated saint the community had ever produced. It is as if our 'Winchester Troper' had contained no mention of Swithun or Æthelwold except in the litanies. Still there may have been a separate volume for his office. The collection of pieces in the volume, even if meant to be bound together, need not have been produced in the same branch of the community—and, when so bound, may have made many journeys backward and forward between different branches: we shall come by and by to a processional written at St. Alban's abbey for the common use of itself and of a cell more than 200 miles away.

All that I have written above on this MS. was penned a decade or so before the date at which it comes to me in proof. And now at the last moment a new light seems to be shed on the question of origin.

I lately discovered, and have pointed out above, on p. xxxiv, that certain tropes were common to this MS. and to MSS. belonging to what I may call the Martinian circle. And I have explained this by the fact that the Canons of the basilica of St. Martin outside Tours had possessions in N. Italy, that Novalesa was the first monastery they would reach in descending the Mont Cenis pass into Italy, and was the monastery at which they would sleep before ascending on their return to Gaul. I assumed at the moment that the Novalesa monks copied from the books of their Tours guests, and that remains possible. On the other hand, I doubt whether the Canons would carry with them books which were likely to be quite different from those of many of the monasteries whose services they would attend; and a very little further search shows me that the amount of connexion between this

[1] The facsimiled pages do not show it.

[2] The community had possessions in several French dioceses, and at a later period it had at least one French cell, Le Muraz. But I find in the litanies no saints specially associated with the districts in which its French possessions lay.

MS. and those of the Martinian circle is much more considerable than I knew[1]. These things being so, and **SECTIONS**
bearing in mind what I have already said about the writing and ornamentation of the volume, I have bethought **15, 16.**
myself that—though prepared *for* Novalesa, and doubtless with some Novalesa material (certainly, for instance, the long lists of saints in the litanies)—it may have been executed *at* the Martinian basilica outside Tours—perhaps at the request of Novalesa, perhaps as a spontaneous return for hospitality received. Of course, it *might* have been executed by Tours hands at Novalesa itself, but the time required for its production would be so considerable as to make that much less likely.

A Tours origin for the volume also minimizes the difficulties connected with the spellings *Eldrahe* and *Odile*, which seemed to point away from Novalesa itself, and it appears to me that for the present at least it is the theory which best fits all the facts.

Mr. Bannister, however, says that the neum-writing is of N. Italian, not French type. Possibly the neums may have been written by a Canon familiar with N. Italian neums?

§ 16. We pass now to Dalmatia. **MS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 61**[2], an 11th cent. Latin gospel-lectionary, is beautifully written in the 'Lombardic' character, and correspondingly decorated. The name of this style of writing signifies that it was practised not merely in modern Lombardy but throughout the original Lombard dominions, which reached to the extreme south of Italy; and at the period when our MS. was written the style was hardly, if at all, in use north of the centre of Italy, its chief centres being the monasteries of Monte Cassino and La Cava near Salerno. Mr. Bannister tells me that Traube and his school now call the hand (at this period) 'Beneventan', and that a very important study of it by Dr. E. A. Loew is in preparation[3].

The music is confined to ff. 115-123^{v}. Before the lessons for Easter the scribe has inserted parts of the mass special to its vigil, and it is these which are accompanied with musical notes—thick neums of 'Lombard' type, with a very different look from anything in the MSS. we have yet surveyed. The leaves have been ruled in the usual manner, but the text has been written on alternate lines only, beginning with the top line. The neums are obviously spaced, and many of them are placed on the empty intermediate lines. But, where there was no line already ruled, the scribe did not rule one specially for the neums: thus, the neums above the top line of text have no line of their own. Almost every row of neums has a 'direct'[4] at the end of it. Westwood in his 'Palæographia sacra pictoria' gives a chromolithograph of f. 115, of lines 2 and 3 of f. 117, and of part of f. 7^{v} (*Lombardic MSS.*, *pl.* 2, figg. 1-3), but it is not by any means exact either in colour or drawing[5].

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[1] Mr. Bannister has kindly compared the Winchester and Novalesa tropes for me, and finds an agreement to the extent of about ⅓. The divergence of the remaining ⅔ is easily explained by the fact that the Novalesa book was written a century or more after the Winchester, and I suspect more than a century and a half after the Tours exemplar of the Winchester book. In that interval the Martinian Canons would doubtless have written many new tropes which in a Novalesa book might supersede those copied into the Winchester book.

[2] Bought in 1817 in a collection which had been formed by the Venetian Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici, who died in 1805.

[3] He gives me later (July, 1911) a prospectus of the publisher D. Anderson, Via Salaria, 7-a, Rome, announcing the forthcoming publication of the following works by Dr. Loew, described as Ph.D. and Research Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington:—

1. 'Scriptura Beneventana'—100 collotypes from the 8th to the 14th cent., in chronological order, with introduction, descriptions, and transliterations (125 copies: price, 2 0 fr.).

2. 'The Beneventan Script'—a manual of about 250 pp.

He also announces as in the press 'Scriptura Latina Minuscula Antiquior', 7th to 9th cent.—'Scriptoria Italica', 50 plates (20 fr.). In this he has been assisted by the Abbé P. Libaert, Ph.D., Honorary Scribe of the Vatican.

[4] The shape is ✓ (which is approximately the shape of all the directs I have seen in mediaeval MSS.). I suspect that it represents part of the top of *e*, i.e. the 'Romanian' letter *e*=*equaliter*: see the shape of that in MS. Bodl. 775, f. 159^{v}. In that case the direct must have assumed its shape before being adopted at Monte Cassino, as the shape of *e* from which it would have arisen is a 'Caroline' but not a Lombardic shape.

[5] He also gives a woodcut of a beautiful drawing of the Last Supper, from f. 106, but here also photographic processes (not then available) were wanted, nor does he mention that four of the faces are touched with green, or that there is some rough partial tinting with pale ochre. No better example of the inadequacy of old Bodleian modes of cataloguing can be found than the fact that the catalogue description of this MS. makes no mention of this remarkable drawing, and, beyond saying that it has gilded initials, makes no allusion to more than 150 singular polychrome initials, among which are many figures and emblems of the Evangelists.

SECTIONS 16, 17. The illumination of this MS. is very much in the style of Monte Cassino[1]. It was not, however, written for that great abbey, but, I find, for an abbey of nuns dedicated to St. Mary: that is shown by the words at the foot of f. 122v. The secular powers prayed for are the emperor, 'our' prior[2], and 'all the people of this city'. During the period in which the volume was written there were 3 abbeys of St. Mary subordinate to Monte Cassino (see Gattola, pp. 26 seqq., and his *Accessiones*, p. 50). They were (1) St. Mary (afterwards St. Petronilla) in Plumbariola, 2 or 3 miles S. of Monte Cassino, (2) St. Mary 'in Cingla', near Ailano, about 7 miles N.W. of Alife, and about 20 miles from Monte Cassino, (3) St. Mary in Cusenza. I spent days on investigating the history of these 3 nunneries, and in attempting to reconcile their situation with prayers for an emperor and a local governor called 'prior' in the second half of the 11th cent. I failed completely, and had to resort to comparative methods.

I looked out all the other 'Lombardic' MSS. known to me in the library[3], and all the Canonici MSS. which could certainly be said to have been re-bound in the same bindery with this one[4]—for its particular style of full gilt-tooled morocco is of very rare occurrence in Canonici's collection. And I at once came across another 'Lombardic' MS. of his (already designed for notice in this Introduction) which obviously came from the same binder, and was therefore probably acquired by him at about the same time. Accordingly I pass to the study of that, and the reader will see that it gives the missing clew to the provenance of this.

§ 17. **MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 277,** a book of Hours, &c., executed in the same style, and apparently of the latter half of the 11th cent., is the only other Bodleian MS. in which I have found music accompanied by a text written in the 'Lombardic' hand. This music is added on a flyleaf (f. 150v), and the writer of the text begins the line not with Lombardic capitals but with Caroline 'rustic' capitals of 11th cent. type. The neums are not only spaced, but are written on very faint blank staves of 3 lines, of which only the 2nd stave is clearly visible. Each line is followed by a direct, and the fact of the *last* line being so followed shows that it was copied from a book in which more music succeeded. There are no pitch-signatures. The neums do not form a single hymn, as previously supposed, but belong to four pieces, which if divided and punctuated in modern fashion would appear thus:—

(1) Lætabunda ac ıocunda fatıe[5].
Hunıverfuf populuf dalmatıe[5].
...

(2) Quaf rofata[6] abbatıffa
ad honorem...

(3) Semper cand & fplendıde
...

(4) Inperatrıx monachar*um*
et faluatrıx anımar*um*,
ınclınamuf n*oftr*um capud
tıbı, domına ear*um*. Amen.

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[1] For its palaeography see the two series: 'Bibliotheca Casinensis' and 'Paleografia artistica di Montecassino'. For the palaeography of La Cava see 'Codex diplomaticus Cavensis'.

[2] For *prior civitatis* see Ducange.

[3] MS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 60, MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 277, MS. Douce 127, and fly-leaves in MS. Roe 1.

[4] MSS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 58, 59, 60, MSS. (Canonici) Liturg. 277, 410, MS. Canonici Pat. Lat. 175, and MS. Canonici misc. 184.
MS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 59 has the shield and crest of G. A., said by my predecessor, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, to be one of the Auria family (Italian): perhaps they are those of Giuseppe A., of the latter half of the 16th cent.
MS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 60 belonged in 1178 to the Church of St. Pancras at Ranshoven in Upper Austria, but I believe it to date from the late 11th cent. and suspect that it was executed at the monastery of Tegernsee, in consequence of its resemblance (both in illumination and in writing) to MSS. Rawlinson G. 163 and Laud Lat. 96, the former of which has been already rightly assigned by Mr. Madan to Tegernsee, while the latter has been identified by me as coming from the same scriptorium.

[5] Dr. E. A. Loew has satisfied me that the ligature in these two words = *ti*, and not (as I naturally read it) *ci*.

[6] Not a proper name, but 'wearing a garland of roses'.

Of these (1) is obviously addressed to a female saint popular in Dalmatia (probably, as we shall see, Anastasia[1]); (2) is apparently the beginning of a nuns' hymn[2]; (3) is likely to be the beginning of a hymn to the Virgin; (4) is also addressed to her by nuns. **SECTIONS 17, 18.**

Prayers on ff. 69v and 72 show that the book was written for a nunnery of the Benedictine order. And from the prayers to Chrysogonus (f. 69v, preceding a prayer to other martyrs) and Anastasia (f. 72v, preceding a prayer to other virgins) I conclude that it was that of St. Mary of Zara in Dalmatia. The body of Chrysogonus was said to be buried at Zara in the church bearing his name, and attached to a Benedictine monastery. The body of Anastasia was said to be in its cathedral, which became known by her name. She was associated with Chrysogonus by legend, and this connexion is alluded to on f. 69v. The last of the 11 Confessors addressed on f. 71 is Zoilus, whose body was also alleged to be at Zara. See Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, V, pp. 8-10, 36-7.

The nunnery of St. Mary at Zara was founded in 1052 (Farlati, p. 603), and its church consecrated in 1072 (*id.*, p. 49), and among the parties to a grant made to it on that occasion is '*Drago...Prior Jadræ urbis, una cum Nobilibus, & omni populo hujus civitatis*' (*ib.*).

And here we get the key to the *provenance* of MS. Canonici Bib. Lat. 61—it was clearly executed for the same nunnery[3]. The 'prior' there prayed for is the prior of Zara, the emperor is the emperor Alexius Comnenus at Constantinople, who, when Zara and other Dalmatian cities came under the authority of the Venetians, confirmed the latter in possession. This was some time not earlier than 1081, when Alexius Comnenus became emperor, and is stated by Stokvis (*Manuel d'histoire*, ii, 401) to have been in 1085; and Mr. Bannister points out that, though the names of the Pope, Bishop, and Emperor are not written, neums for those names are, and that the Pope's name had 4 syllables, the Bishop's 3, and the Emperor's 7—a concurrence, he says, which only occurred in 1081-5. This period, then, I accept[4] as that of the manuscript's execution: the absence of allusion either to a king or to the Venetians may simply mean that the city did not acknowledge the title of either the one or the other, but did acknowledge the paramount authority of the Emperor. The office of prior of Zara seems to have been vacant when the neums were written, as there are none for his name.

§ 18. I now come to a group of Italian MSS. illustrating that form of the stave with which the name of Guido of Arezzo is commonly associated.

Guido is supposed to have been born in or about 990, and to have been a monk in the Benedictine house of St. Maur des Fosses; to have invented a new system of teaching music by about 1022; to have shown to Pope John XIX, who died in 1033, an antiphoner written on this system; and to have become abbat of the monastery of Santa Croce, at Avellano near Arezzo, where he is believed to have died about 1050.

In the 2nd ed. of Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (II, 257), Mr. W. S. Rockstro writes thus:—

'Guido's claim to the invention of the lines and spaces of the stave, and of the clefs (Claves signatae) associated with the former, is supported by very strong evidence indeed. In his epistle to Brother Michael, he begins by claiming the new system of teaching as his own: 'Taliter enim Deo auxiliante hoc Antiphonarium notare disposui, ut post hac leviter aliquis sensatus et studiosus cantum discat', etc., etc.; and then, in the clearest possible terms, explains the use of the lines and spaces: 'Quanticumque ergo soni in una linea, vel in uno spacio sunt, omnes similiter sonant. Et in omni cantu quantaecumque lineae vel spacia unam eandemque habeant literam vel eundem colorem, ita ut omnia similiter sonant, tanquam si omnes in una linea fuissent'. These words set forth a distinct claim to the invention of the red and yellow lines, and the Claves signatae, or

[1] A third line may have run something like 'laudat' (*or* 'laudet') 'clarum nomen Anaftafie'.

[2] The next words may have been 'tuum miffa.'

[3] As also, I have discovered, was MS. Canonici misc. 336.

[4] The name of the Emperor seems to have been continued in public documents even after 1085, and (not knowing Stokvis's date) I had, on complicated grounds with which I need not trouble the reader, placed the MS. in the period 1091-1102.

SECTIONS 18, 19. letters indicating the F and C[1] clefs, prefixed to them; and upon these the whole principle of the four-lined stave depends, even though it cannot be proved to have been in use in its complete form until long after Guido's time'.

In the article 'Notation', in the same work, Mr. C. F. Abdy Williams writes as follows (III, 398):—

'But the alphabetical notation, however necessary for teaching, was not found satisfactory for recording melodies, since it was inconvenient for sight-singing, and experiments were now made in another direction. "Points" were placed at definite distances above the words, and above and below one another. In this system, called by the Solesmes writers *Notation à points superposés*, everything depended on the accuracy with which the points were interspaced; and the scribes, as a guide to their eye, began to scratch a straight line across the page, to indicate the position of one particular scale-degree, from which all the others could be shown by the relative distances of their "points". But this was not found sufficiently definite. The scratched line was therefore coloured red, and a second line was added, coloured yellow, indicating the interval of a fifth above the first. Neumes placed on these two lines were to represent the sounds F and *c* of the Guidonian alphabet, and the other sounds were shown by the relative position of the neumes between, above, or below them. The honour of completing the "staff" or "stave" thus begun, is attributed to Guido of Arezzo, who added a black line, indicating *a* between the red and yellow lines, and another, indicating *e*, above the yellow line. The pitch of every note within a certain compass was now definitely shown by its position on a line or a space, and four lines have continued to form the orthodox stave of plain-song to the present day. Neumes, however, continued to be written without a stave in Germany as late as the 14th cent., while staves of one, two, and three lines only, are of frequent occurrence in 12th and 13th century MSS.'

§ 19. **MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 359**[2] is actually from Arezzo itself—at least as regards the greater part of it. Mr. Madan has already described it in the Summary Catalogue of our Western MSS. (under no. 19444) as a 'Pontifical of the cathedral at Arezzo, not quite complete: together with a Collectarius, including more of the framework of a breviary than is usual. . . . The connexion with Arezzo is proved by the occurrence of stt. Laurentinus, Pergentinus, Flora, and Lucilla on fol. 1'[3]. Mr. Madan speaks of it as 'written perhaps at the close of the 11th cent.', and that is what the writing suggests to me—it certainly is not *early* 11th[4]: but some of the initials, and the fondness shown for red-blotch ornamentation in the body of a line, make me suspect the early part of the 12th cent.

Mr. Madan has said that 'There are gaps after foll. 34, 58, 60, 66, and foll. 45, 61, 62 (and perhaps others) are out of place. . . . The two parts of the book are to some extent interwoven'. And Mr. Bannister has pointed out to me good reasons in the vellum, and ruling, and ornamentation of ff. 9-12^v for regarding them as 'part of another volume . . . a Breviary which breaks the continuity of the MS.'. He thinks these leaves are later. If there be any difference in age it must, however, be very slight, and the 'later' leaves match the others in size—were, at any rate, part of a *companion*-volume.

I have been unable to consider Mr. Bannister's note on the MS. until within less than a fortnight of the day when this description must go to the printer, and I can neither spare time to investigate the make-up of the MS. nor to re-cast what I had written about the notation. I can only endeavour to make clear, by adding '(Pontifical)' and '(*not* Pontifical)', which portions of the volume are being referred to. I should add that it is the Pontifical portion which contains the litany, and is *certainly* of Arezzo origin.

[1] This should be *c*.

[2] Bought in 1817 in a collection which had been formed by the Venetian Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici, who died in 1805.

[3] I may add that they are preceded in the litany by Donatus and Ylarianus. Not only was there a St. Donatus bishop of Arezzo, but he is known to have had Hilarianus coupled with him in the Arezzo liturgy.

[4] For the tall letters often have split tops, which I do not know in the Caroline minuscule hand before 1049, and rarely before the last 30 years of the century.

The neums are almost all in the first 14 leaves (1-8^{v}, 13-14^{v} Pontifical, 9-12^{v} *not* Pontifical), after which they occur only on ff. 32^{v}, 61, 61^{v} (all three Pontifical). **SECTIONS 19, 20.**

On f. 10^{v} (*not* Pontifical), from which Facsimile No. 42 is taken, we have specimens of the *F* and *c* signatures, the former always attached to a red line, the latter to a blind line. The red line, however, has been painted *over* the notes, so that it is a later addition. In the upper of the two melodies, observe that the signature *c* is repeated once or twice at a different level in the body of the music, and that in the last of these instances a faint *brown* line (terminated by a vertical line) has been drawn to show what notes are on its level. Observe also that in the same melody *F* lines have been added, though without signature. There are likewise directs at the ends of lines.

On f. 5^{v} (Pontifical), near the top, are *red* neums on an unsigned yellow line, but on f. 6^{v} (Pontifical) the red blotches opposite the bottom *F* are merely rubrication on the other side of the leaf.

Turn now to Facsimile No. 41, from f. 4 (Pontifical), and we shall see how much simpler the original notation of the Pontifical seems to have been. Here are no red lines, no signatures, not even blind lines (beyond the ordinary ruling made to receive the text)—nor any directs.

Moreover a reference to f. 6^{v} (Pontifical) will show that the additions are not all by a single hand. There in the first anthem we have a different style of neum, a form of *F* much less conventionalized, and an accompanying line not in red but in brownish black. The second anthem has original neums (in the ordinary hand ?) re-written (when faded) by apparently the same hand which wrote the neums to the anthems above—and an unsigned yellow line. The third anthem is similarly re-written, and has blind lines signed *F* and *c*.

Now all this may only be an indication that Guido was not at first accepted as a prophet in his own country, or that some of the music in the MS. was copied from another one anterior to Guido. But it inevitably leads one to look critically into the basis of the claims which have been made for him.

To begin with, then, the passages quoted by Mr. Rockstro are *not* from the 'epistle to Brother Michael', but in certain 'Guidonis regulæ . . . in Antiphonarii sui prologum prolatæ' (Gerbert, II, 35), and the Antiphoner is *not* printed (as Mr. Rockstro (p. 257) says it is) in the volume of Gerbert in question. It is true that Guido *mentions* his antiphoner in the letter to Brother Michael, but is it certain that this has come down to us *as he wrote it*, and that the 'regulæ' above referred to, and the 'Muficæ Guidonis regulæ rhythmicæ in antiphonarii fui prologum prolatæ', also printed by Gerbert (II, 25), are not the composition of a later hand, albeit the writer of these latter (p. 33) actually calls himself Guido? In Guido's Micrologus, says Mr. Rockstro himself (Grove's *Dict.* III, 198), we do not 'find any mention whatever of . . . the use of the lines and spaces of the stave; nor do Guido's other writings contain any allusion to these aids to science sufficiently explicit to identify him as their inventor. His claim to this honour rests entirely on the authority of Franchinus Gafurius, Vicentino, Glareanus, Vincenzo Galilei, Zarlino, and other early writers'. The author of the prose 'Guidonis regulæ' referred to above (which do not contain Guido's own name) says 'factum est, ut . . . tam multa sint antiphonaria, quam multi sunt per singulas ecclesias magistri, vulgoque iam dicitur antiphonarium non Gregorii, sed Leonis aut Alberti, aut cuiuscumque alterius', and the name Guido was so common that another and later Guido might conceivably be the author of the Antiphoner, and of the prose and rhythmical 'regulæ' prefixed to it. And one thing at least is certain, that of the black lines for *a* and *e* there is not a trace even in the 'regulæ'.

§ 20. **MS. (Canonici) Liturg. 358**[1] has four end-leaves (ff. 1, 2, 49, 50)[2] of which the first and last show the marks of having lined an earlier binding than the present 18th cent. one. The body of the volume consists of a Lectionary, with Breviary-offices, for special festivals of Augustinian and Venetian interest (Mr. Bannister) —see also Frere, *Bib. Mus.-Liturg.*, p. 33, and Mr. Madan (*Summary Catalogue*, under no. 19443): Mr. Bannister

[1] A part of the same collection as the last-mentioned MS.

[2] Their proper order (Mr. Bannister) is 1, 49, 50, 2.

SECTIONS 20, 21. has pointed out a paragraph at foot of f. 17^{v} referring to Venice as *this city*. And it is either (as I think) of the 15th cent.[1] or of the end of the 14th: on f. 48^{v} is a faded inscription of the 15th cent., already deciphered by Mr. Madan, showing that it then belonged to the monastery of Saint Saviour at Venice. That was a house of Augustinian canons which arose between 1133 and 1143 out of a previously existing church of Saint Saviour served by secular clergy, and in 1442 it was made over to the Augustinian canons of Saint Saviour at Bologna, a society which only dated from 1418.

Mr. Frere calls the leaves part of a 12th cent. Antiphonal; Mr. Madan, coming after him, queries them as late 11th. So far as the writing of the text goes, it might be as early even as the end of the 10th. The music has red lines (generally oxidized) signed *F;* shorter red lines running through a few notes in the middle of the page, and representing *F* but unsigned; occasionally such lines (Mr. Bannister) representing *f* but unsigned (see f. 1, near foot); very pale yellow lines signed *c*; and blind lines signed *a* or unsigned. In the middle of the page the space below *c*, or a note in that space, is sometimes signed *b*. Mr. Bannister points out that in l. 4 of the music on f. 1 the notes on the level of a *b* are connected by a thin line. And there are directs, shaped ɤ.

When one scrutinizes the ruling, one finds (1) that, though the blind ruling is original, it is at uniform distances, and is used equally for music and text; (2) that the red and yellow lines are simply blind lines only partly filled in with colour, and *after* the notes had been written. But there is no evidence that the colours were not put in by the rubricator of the MS.; in other words, they may be part of the original scheme of the notation. The value of a line often changes in the middle of the page, a fresh signature being inserted to mark it. The signature and directs appear to be part of the original writing.

That writing is older in type than the writing of the volume containing the Arezzo Pontifical. Whether it is really older, or only an instance of the longer survival of the older type in a different locality (Venice ?), the arrangement of the neums indicates a distinct advance in the development of the stave. In the Arezzo volume the original *lines* were all wide apart, at the ordinary distances used for text; and in the *spaces* between them notes of more than one pitch are written. In this book, although the *lines* are used indifferently for music and text, it is clear that they have been ruled at specially narrow intervals for the purpose of differentiating the value of the notes, and notes of different pitches do not seem to be found in the same *space*.

§ 21. I pass to **MS. Canonici misc. 43**[2], a composite volume of pieces of Italian origin, the binding of which is only of the 18th cent., and which contains nothing at all early except four badly cut down leaves of an Antiphoner (Frere, *Bib. Mus.-Liturg.*, p. 31), which I should have supposed 11th cent., but which Mr. Frere and Mr. Bannister (who judges from similar antiphoners) place in the 12th. On the last of these leaves is a Latin inscription to the effect that 'This book is of the convent of St. Geminianus of the order of Friars Preachers · of the fourth bench' (?—'de quarto banco').

'Of the fourth bench' probably means that the book was chained to the shelves in front of the fourth bench in the library[3]. But where the convent was I do not know. Modena would be the most probable place, but I find no convent of the Saint there. And the monastery of the town of San Geminiano in Tuscany was not a house of Friars Preachers, but of Olivetan monks. The Friars Preachers (i.e., Dominicans) only came into existence in the early 13th cent., so that the antiphoner from which these leaves come (Frere, *Bib. Mus.-Liturg.*, p. 31) cannot have been a Dominican book in its origin even if Mr. Frere is right in attributing it to the 12th cent.

[1] Mr. Bannister has since pointed out that there is an office for St. Nicholas of Tolentino (f. 11), who was not canonized till 1446, but who was locally venerated as a saint as early as 1440.

[2] Of the same *provenance* as the last 2 MSS.

[3] Not in the church of the convent. For the inscription is presumably of the 15th cent., and they would hardly then be singing from so ancient a notation.

The stave-notation is practically identical with that of the last mentioned MS. Blind lines have been ruled at specially narrow intervals all down the page, and red and yellow have been afterwards filled in into the *F* and *c* lines, perhaps by the rubricator of the MS. Every stave has a line signed *F*, *c*, or *a*, in the margin, and new signatures are frequent in the middle of lines at the beginning of new pieces. A note in the space below the *c* line is once (on the third page) preceded by a *b*. All signatures may very well be by the writer of the neums; so may the directs, which are of the ɤ shape. On the seventh page the neums for one line of text were originally omitted, and have been filled in by a coarser hand and in paler ink. **SECTIONS 22, 23, 24.**

§ 22. There are in the same collection several Italian musical MSS. of the 12th cent. with neums on a stave, but in none of them have I seen a black line for *a* or *e*, and nothing but the strongest palaeographical evidence would allow me to believe that such a line was ever written by or in the time of Guido of Arezzo. That the red and yellow lines existed *before* him I shall also disbelieve till similar evidence is forthcoming. That Guido himself invented those 2 lines—though even on that point I have uttered a note of doubt—seems to me more probable than not. It is quite possible that when he wrote his letter to Brother Michael he had only *spaced* the neums in his Antiphoner, and that the further improvement of coloured lines and signatures was added by him afterwards.

§ 23. **MS. D'Orville 145**[1] has on f. 56 a Latin poem of 12 lines on the signs of the zodiac, and the first 3 lines have neums written above them. It is possible that these neums were meant to be sung four times over.

The MS. is either of the late 11th cent. or of the beginning of the 12th. The neums are in a lighter ink than the text, but an equally light ink is used on f. 44ᵛ by a corrector of the text whom I take to be contemporary, and he may have added the neums.

An inscription at the end of the volume shows that it belonged in the 12th cent. to the Church of St. Peter at Ghent, and Mr. Bannister tells me that the neums are Metz neums. Some rather like them are found in a 12th cent. antiphon in honour of the Belgian saint Lambert on f. 155 of MS. Auct. T. 2. 23.

Mr. Bannister adds that the poem is ascribed to Priscian, and that a Vatican MS. (Regin. lat. 1987) which also came from St. Peter's, Ghent, has the same lines and exactly similar neums: he attributes both text and music in the Vatican MS. to the latter half of the 12th cent. There the neums are repeated throughout the poem, and he regards the teaching of astronomy at school as the object of this composition.

§ 24. **MS. Auct. D. 2. 6**[2] contains the following 3 items, each of which is a curiously and beautifully illuminated piece of English work of the 12th cent.:—

A. A kalendar (wanting February and March) and paschal cycle. Inside the blank outer leaf is a memorandum (late 15th cent.?) relating to the priory of Benedictine nuns at Littlemore, near Oxford. Against Dec. 16 the original scribe has written in red and green *O Sapientia*, the cue of the first of the great Christmas anthems, to shew that the singing of it was to be begun on that day; and over it he has painted in blue the corresponding neums. The date and place of origin of this kalendar will be dealt with further on.

B. A Psalter, followed by canticles and litany. The first two leaves have been cut away for the sake of their illuminations. At end is added, in a hand of about 1260, the name of Adam Basset de Littlemore. He may have been the priest of the priory-church: a charter of 1251-9 in favour of the priory is witnessed by 'Adam · Clerico de Littlemore ·' (MS. Charters Oxon a. 8 (no. 28) in the Bodleian, and Dugdale's *Monasticon*, IV, p. 493). The place of origin will be considered with that of A.

[1] The D'Orville MSS., bought by the Bodleian in 1804, had been collected by Jacques Philippe D'Orville, of Amsterdam, who died in 1751.

[2] Given apparently after 1670, by Richard Bestwick or Beswick, M.A., a clergyman, Fellow of Exeter Coll. in 1667-71. It is in the 1697 printed catalogue under no. 3636.

SECTION 24.

C. A collection of meditations which I find to be in some part selected from those of Anselm, but which consist mainly of addresses to the Virgin, SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, John, Nicholas, Peter again, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene—the name of Augustine having that of Benedict everywhere written above it as an alternative by the original scribe. One of these meditations is put in the mouth of a bishop or abbat[1], whose church was dedicated to Peter, and another in that of an Augustinian canon—over which have been written words converting it to the use of a Benedictine monk. Various representations of nuns in historiated initials indicate that this copy was meant for a nunnery, and the selection of Nicholas among the saints consists with the belief that the nunnery was that of Littlemore, which was dedicated to Mary and him[2], and was ordinarily known by his name.

The only music in the volume is the single line of neums in A.: they are still merely spaced, without stave or pitch-signature. The importance of this single line lies in the fact that we have some clews to its date. On the back of the same leaf is a paschal cycle for 1064-1595. For 1311-1595 no key-letters have been filled in; for 1159-1310 those of leap-years only; for 1064-1158 those of *every* year. The period 1064-1158 is divided into lunar cycles of 19 years, the last of which is 1140-1158, and it is reasonable to suppose that the scribe was not writing later than Easter, 1158: otherwise he would have been sure to fill in the key-letters for the cycle beginning in 1159. And on the other hand, if he had been writing before 1139, he would probably not have filled in the key-letters for the cycle which began in 1140. Hence I take him to have written between 1139 and 1158. A slanting blank stilus-mark against 1149 can hardly be accidental, for there was no blank ruling on this page to occasion it, and it suggests that he thus marked the Easter next in front of him—in other words, that he wrote between Easter, 1148, and Easter, 1149: see my note on the date of 'Leofric B' on p. lviii.

A. can hardly have been executed for Littlemore, as it has no feast of the Translation of St. Nicholas (July 9), no Octave (Dec. 13) of his ordinary day, and no dedication-festival; the entry of St. Frideswide's day (Oct. 19), suggesting proximity to Oxford, is an insertion. That it was not executed for Abingdon is abundantly clear from the 15th cent. Abingdon kalendar in MS. Digby 227: for instance, it wants the feast of St. Adhelwold and its octave. The special feature of it is the Invention of St. Alban (Aug. 2) and its octave, which suggests that it was executed either for St. Alban's or for one of its cells: and Mr. Bannister proposes the cell of Wallingford Priory—only 9 miles from Littlemore. On since comparing it with the early 14th cent. St. Alban's kalendar in MS. Laud misc. 279, I find that it must certainly have been executed for that monastery or one of its cells, and as it omits the dedication-day of the abbey-church I conclude that it was for a cell[3].

A. has nothing whatever to do with B. It is true that a Psalter with canticles and litany was customarily preceded by a kalendar, but, if B. was so preceded, its original kalendar has been lost. The volume did not receive its present binding before the late 17th cent., and there is no evidence that A. B. C. were not separate when given to the Bodleian. A. and B. are not by the same scribe; the historiated initials on ff. 44v and 87v of B. have nothing in common with the historiated initials of A., and are of a style associated with the latter half of the 12th cent.; finally, there are marked differences in the pricking and ruling of the vellum. The litany

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[1] In the first instance *bishop* has *or abbat* written over it: in all other instances the word is *abbat*.

[2] Abingdon abbey, only 4 or 5 miles off, was dedicated to Mary; there was a church of St. Nicholas at Abingdon; and the abbat of Abingdon and rector of the church (otherwise chapel) of St Nicholas join about the year 1230 in a grant of tithes to the nunnery (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, IV, p. 492) preserved in the Bodleian (MS. Charters Oxon a. 8, no. 14). This suggests to me that the nunnery may have been founded as a cell of Abingdon abbey, which would explain why it is never called an abbey itself, but only a priory: Mr. Bannister, however, asks if a house of nuns ever was a cell to an abbey of monks. We find from Dugdale (I, p. 509) that between 1289 and 1307 the abbat of Abingdon 'built the parish church of St. Nicholas without the west gate of the abbey': this was clearly a rebuilding of the church or chapel of St. Nicholas already existing, and it indicates a connexion between that and the abbey. The partial dedication of Littlemore to St. Eadmund may perhaps be explained by the fact that in 1116 he was one of the only two English martyrs of whom Abingdon possessed relics (*Chron. Abingd.* ii, p. 157).

[3] Since this paragraph was written Mr. Bannister has examined the British Museum MS. Reg. 2. A. x., a Breviary written for St. Alban's in the middle of the 12th cent.: its kalendar is very similar (but with the dedication-day), and contains the title of *O sapientia* with neums above.

of B. omits Alban altogether, and has no English martyr except Ælphege[1] who was archbishop of Canterbury *and previously bishop of Winchester:* Mr. Bannister also notes Justus among the martyrs as pointing strongly to Winchester (see above, p. xxxi). Its list of Confessors has only 9 English saints, of whom 6 belonged to Winchester —Birinus (the founder of the see, and doubled in the litany), Hedda, Suuithun (doubled, Mr. Bannister points out, in the litany), Byrstan, Ælphege, and Atheluuold[2]. Moreover, instead of the usual prayer for 'our bishops and abbats', only 'our bishop' is mentioned—which suggests St. Swithun's, Winchester, that being not an abbey but a cathedral-priory. Very possibly, however, B. came to Littlemore through Abingdon; for, apart from an ancient connexion between Abingdon and Winchester, Ingulf, who was abbat of Abingdon in 1130-1159, and towards the end of whose life B. may have been executed, had been prior of Winchester. Frideswide, among the Virgins, is an alteration, doubtless made at Littlemore or Abingdon.

I have said that A., in which the neums occur, was produced *for* a cell of St. Alban's, but I believe it to have been produced *at* St. Alban's itself. Any man who could execute the paintings in A. would surely be wanted in the chief *scriptorium*. To me this kalendar is the first of a series of 4 St. Alban's books—all of importance for the history of English musical notation—of which I will now proceed to mention the remaining 3.

§ 25. **MS. Rawlinson liturg. c. 1**[3] is an imperfect Sacramentary written at St. Alban's in the 12th cent.: at what time in the century I defer discussing till its importance in English musical history has been shown.

On ff. 32v-35 are lessons with occasional red notation. The signs *certainly* used are ◆ ▜ ▙, representing the neums called *punctum*, *virga*, and *pes* or *podatus*. The head of the second of these is sometimes markedly longer than the normal, but also sometimes unusually short: I cannot feel sure that the variation is intentional. *IACOBI* on f. 32v and *misisti* on f. 35 have over their syllables the signs | ◆ ◆ and ▜ ◆ |—where the 'Gothic' form of the *virga* is apparently used: for, although in the former case it might be taken as an accent (*Iácobus* not *Iacóbus* being customary[4]), that could hardly be so in *misísti*. The notation is spaced, but without lines or pitch-signatures, and I see no reason to regard it as a later insertion.

In the middle of f. 92v a single syllable has over it the neum called *clivis* in black.

And on f. 152 are neums written on two *blank* staves—i.e., staves ruled with a dry stilus, like the lines on which the text is written. They are over two lines of text, and both text and neums are part of the original book. The upper stave is of 3 lines, and has the pitch-signature *b quadratum* above the top line. The lower stave is of 4 lines, but the beginning has been torn away, so that we cannot tell whether it had a pitch-signature.

The Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian says the MS. 'was probably written before A.D. 1115', and I think I see the ground for this estimate. According to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, a new Abbey-church was consecrated on 'the 5th of the kalends of June' in that year, but really on Tuesday, Dec. 28, 1116[5]. Now on the margin of f. 4 a later hand has made a note against Dec. 28 that for the church-dedication prayer we are to look after the prayers of the Sundays in summer[6]. That was the place of it in the Sarum missal, and it may very reasonably be suggested that, if St. Alban's had had a dedication-day of its own when this MS. was written, that day would have been inserted in its chronological order, and not at the end of the Sundays in summer.

[1] The names of Atheluuold, Dunstan, and another Ælphege which precede have been miscopied by accident from the list of *Confessors*, where they will all be found over again: none of those 3 saints were martyrs.

[2] The other 3 are Augustine, Dunstan (a friend of Athelwold), and Cuthbert.

[3] This came to the Library in 1756, in the bequest of the non-juring bishop Richard Rawlinson, who died in 1755.

[4] It is scanned in verse as *Iācŏbūs* in the 12th cent. St. Alban's Processional, MS. Laud misc. 4, f. 112v.

[5] See the Rolls series ed. of Rad. de Diceto, i, p. 241, note 2.

[6] Unluckily the volume is defective at the place referred to.

SECTION 25. But the date of the new dedication-day would be given in the kalendar[1] of the volume, so that there was no absolute need to transplant the service from its old position after the Sundays in summer. And in the St. Alban's Gradual (see § 27) the dedication-day is similarly kept outside any chronological series. The volume before us is full of large polychrome floriated initials of a style common in English books of the 12th cent., but which I have seen in none that can safely be dated near its beginning[2], and which I cannot suppose to have developed to the extent here shown till much later. In fact, I suspect this Sacramentary to have been written about 1160.

That it cannot have been written much later is shown by the fact that in the part devoted to particular saints there is no commemoration of the 'depositio' of Edward the Confessor (Jan. 5), his translation (Oct. 13), the invention of Amphibalus and his companions (Jan. 25), or Thomas of Canterbury (Dec. 29)—but that marginal notes in various hands direct us to look for these at the end of the entire book. And at the end of the book, on leaves left blank by the original scribe, are commemorations (by other hands) of Amphibalus and Thomas, though there is no trace of Edward. As all these feasts were established in the 12th cent., and certainly the last two[3] would have been adopted at St. Alban's[4] at the earliest possible moment, it is reasonable to presume that the original book was written before the establishment of any of them. Thomas was canonized on Feb. 21, 1173, and Edward in 1161, while the translation of the latter took place on Oct. 13, 1163. As regards Amphibalus, the precise origin of that imaginary being is so all but unknown, even in the most learned circles[5], that I shall venture to tell it here.

Gildas (c. 28), writing in or about 548[6], accuses the British king Constantine of having, in the very year in which Gildas wrote, perfidiously killed two young princes 'in duarum venerandis matrum sinibus, ECCLESIAE carnalisque, sub SANCTI abbatis AMPHIBALO', i.e., 'in the venerable bosoms of their two mothers', their spiritual mother 'the church and their carnal mother, under the CLOAK of a holy abbat'. It is clear from this that their mother had taken sanctuary with them in an abbey, the abbat of which in vain attempted to protect them.

About 1136 the South-Welshman Geoffrey of Monmouth issued his History, in which the incident alluded to by Gildas is misrepresented thus (XI, §4)—that one of the princes was found hidden by the altar of a London monastery and killed, and that Constantine slew the other before the altar at Winchester 'in ECCLESIAM SANCTI AMPHIBALI fugientem', 'while fleeing into the church of St. Amphibalus'.

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[1] A marginal reference on f. 90v proves that the volume once had a kalendar.

[2] MS. Laud misc. 636 was almost certainly illuminated in 1116-1123; for the chronicle which it begins is written in one hand down to the end of 1122 and was presumably copied to supply the loss of one which we may suppose to have been burnt in the great fire of 1116. But its initial B is only in red and green. Another Peterborough book, MS. Bodley 163, was probably written nearly at the same time, and its initial E painted by the same illuminator: but that letter has only a touch of yellowish-brown added to the red and green. In our St. Alban's book, however, combinations of red, blue, green, and white abound, while sometimes both yellowish-brown and violet are added to these; entirely new features of design are likewise frequently introduced.

There exists also in the Bodleian a group of Cirencester books bearing inscriptions showing that they were written under the abbacy of Andrew in 1147-1176. They are MSS. Jesus Coll. 68, 70, 67, 52, 63, and were written very much in this order, 68 being indicated as the earliest by certain differences of ruling: the British Museum Royal MS. 3 A. xii (*Palæographical Society*, Ser. II, pl. 72) is by the same scribe as that, but not quite so early. Well, in 68 there is no combination of more than 3 colours, whereas 70, 67, and 52 contain combinations of 5 colours, and 63 one of 7 colours. Finally, MS Auct. D. 4. 6, a Reading psalter written for one Roger, who may be the abbat of 1158-1164 (see Mr. Madan's manuscript catalogue and *Palæographical Society*, Ser. II, pl. 182), seems to me as nearly as possible on a par in this respect with our St. Alban's Sacramentary.

[3] I should have supposed all three, but Mr. Bannister thinks that the adoption of Edward the Confessor into English kalendars was comparatively gradual.

[4] No commemoration of Edward the Confessor appears at the end of the book as it now stands, but the last remaining leaves were originally followed by a gradual (see marginal note on f. 118). The Bodleian has a St. Alban's missal (MS. Laud misc. 279) written in 1308-1326 (not, as the catalogue says, 'sec. xiv exeuntis'), and it commemorates Edward's translation only. Perhaps his 'depositio' ceased to be celebrated when the later feast of his translation was established.

[5] Amphibalus is treated as a real person at least as late as 1843 by Newman, in the 'Calendar of English Saints' printed in his 'Apologia', and 1845 in the 'Lives of the English Saints', edited by him.

The usual idea is that he arose out of some mention of an *amphibalus* in the story of St. Alban, but no such mention exists. The true explanation was given by J. Loth in the *Revue Celtique* xi, p. 348. M. Loth thinks Geoffrey's mistake arose out of a Latin MS., possibly abbreviated. Geoffrey certainly read his Gildas in Latin, not in Breton.

[6] On the exactness with which this can be shown see (1) my letter in *The Academy* of Nov. 2, 1895 ('Gildas vindicatus'); (2) p. 127 of my paper on the Annales Cambriae in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.

The cloak, having thus become a saint, had to have a history found for it. It was accordingly identified with the unnamed 'confessor of *Christ*' whom St. Alban had protected (Bede, *Hist. eccl.* i. 7), and Geoffrey tells us (v. § 5) that Amphibalus was the confessor of *Alban*[1]! **SECTIONS 25, 26, 27.**

The next thing wanted was to find Amphibalus's body and 'translate' it to St. Alban's abbey. [2]Accordingly early one morning St. Alban himself appeared to one Robert Mercer as he lay in bed, took him out into the country, and showed him a hillock where Amphibalus was buried. They returned, and the saint went back into his own church, and Robert to bed. The outcome was that after some days of digging, days fertile in miracles, 10 bodies were found, one of which was identified as that of Amphibalus by having a knife in its head and another near its heart, and was at once 'translated' to the abbey. This was on June 25, 1178, and the 'commemoration' of Amphibalus and his companions added on f. 158 of our MS. (in which God is prayed to accept their intercession) must have been written before the first anniversary of this aptly named 'Invention'.

Our text containing the neums on blank staves was *certainly* written, then, before June 25, 1179; almost certainly before Dec. 29, 1173, the first commemoration of Thomas of Canterbury; and possibly before Jan. 5, 1162, the first commemoration of Edward the Confessor. And the spaced notation in red *may* be equally early[3]. Mr. Bannister points out that the prayer for the king and queen on f. 141ᵛ is supplemented by a marginal addition for their children; that Henry had no second child till 1155; that after the crowning of his son Henry in 1170 a different formula would probably have been used; and that the period 1152-54 is excluded by the fact that Stephen was then a widower.

§ 26. Our next manuscript, **MS. Laud misc. 4**[4] is a Processional (by several scribes[5]), which I find to have been meant for the joint use of St. Alban's abbey and of its 'cell', St. Mary's at Tynemouth. The music is written throughout in neums on a 4-line red stave with pitch-signatures (*a*, *D*, *g*, for lines; *b* or *b quadratum* for spaces): on f. 8 we have a stave signed both with *g* and with *b*. Although the volume wants at least 2 leaves at end, it covers the Proprium Sanctorum and has no fewer than 6 litanies; and, as it contains no allusion to Amphibalus, it is certainly earlier than 1179. The last saint in the last litany is Margaret, which proves it later than 1154, for she was introduced into the litany by Abbat Robert in consequence of a vow made by him on his way to Rome in 1155 (Walsingham, Rolls ser. ed., i., p. 127). Such a book would naturally be produced not at the cell but the abbey[6].

§ 27. Then comes a St. Alban's Gradual, **MS. Laud misc. 358**[7]. Probably illuminated by the same hand as the last MS.[8] The music is written throughout in (more-noteshaped) neums on a stave of 4 lines, which varies curiously in colour. From f. 24 it is always red: before that it is generally red, but often red and green mixed, thrice (ff. 9, 10ᵛ, 15ᵛ) red and blue mixed, twice (f. 15ᵛ) red, green, and blue mixed, and once (f. 9ᵛ) all

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[1] This looks as if he might be copying from some intermediate writer.

[2] See the story at full length in the St. Alban's chronicler Matthew Paris (Chronica majora, Rolls ser. ed. ii, p. 301), except that he does not give the citizen's surname. Paris originally used words conveying the idea that the appearance may have been a dream, but he altered them so as to represent it as a waking-fact, and this is expressly stated in a rubric which contradicts the statement that it was a dream 'ut quidam fingunt detrahentes veritati'. That one or more skeletons lay under the hillock was a likely enough guess: did some member of the monastery dress the part of the saint?

[3] Both these were given by Archbishop Laud in 1633, together with several others which had belonged to St. Alban's.

[4] Given by Archbishop Laud in 1633.

[5] Note that sometimes the music is put in after the ornamentation, sometimes before it. This is shown by the fact that in places a signature, or a neum, or a line, comes *on* to a painted initial, while elsewhere the painted initial comes *on* to, or makes room for, a signature.

[6] MS. 134 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is, however, an unquestionable Tynemouth book. According to notes I made many years ago, it belongs to the latter half of the 12th cent., has rude illuminations, and is certain to have been executed at Tynemouth, not St. Alban's. It has red staves of 5, 4, and 3 lines (the last most rarely), and on f. 72 one of 6 lines, but only to fill up the page, and with the 2 top lines not used. The spaces are signed *b*, *b quadratum*, ƀ (thrice on f. 77, twice on f. 78, sometimes written across a line), *A* (f. 100ᵛ). The lines are signed *c*, *D* (twice), or *a* (once). There are no directs. There are coloured continuation-lines in the text. And on ff 79ᵛ, 80, are red bars, perhaps original, to show what notes belonged to what syllables. Mr. Bannister tells me that it was apparently written before the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

[7] Given by Archbishop Laud in 1636.

[8] Compare the green capital A's on ff. 56, 60, of this, with similar ones on ff. 65ᵛ, 28ᵛ of that; and the opening initial on f. 1ᵛ of that, with the spirals at top of f. 1 in this.

SECTIONS 27, 28.

blue—while the 2 opening neums on f. 1 are written on a short black stave: the differences of colour have no relation to the pitch-values of lines, but are often employed in the first stave of a new melody. The only line-signatures are *D*, *a*, or (very rarely indeed) *c* (ff. 42, 68^{v}, 96): the space-signatures (which are far more common) are *b* and (more frequent) *b quadratum*. Apparently the music was always inserted after the ornamentation. The volume wants something at end, but apparently only a leaf or two: it contains the Proprium Sanctorum, and has no allusion to Amphibalus (so that it is earlier than 1179) nor to Thomas of Canterbury (so that it is probably earlier than 1174). It may pretty safely be dated about 1160. In this volume the dedication-service is kept out of the Proprium de Tempore and of the Proprium Sanctorum, and comes with special services at the end. Yet the book was clearly meant for St. Alban's alone, there being no mention of Oswin, the special saint of Tynemouth. Consequently any argument that the Sacramentary (see above, § 25) is before 1116 on account of its dedication-service not being in the chronological series seems to fall through. In the 15th cent. a binder inserted at beginning and end of the Gradual 5 cut-down leaves from a 12th cent. Antiphoner. The neums are still more note-shaped than in the Gradual. The stave is of four red lines. The pitch-signatures seem limited to *c* and *F* for lines, *b* for spaces—*c* being much the most frequent: these and the formal character of the notation lead me to put the Antiphoner (doubtless also written at St. Alban's) last in this precious series of St. Alban's books. Here also the music was apparently inserted always after the ornamentation.

§ 28. **MS. Rawlinson C. 892**[1] is a Gradual of a cathedral to which a monastery was attached, written in Ireland. The music is in neums, normally on a 4-line red stave; but all the staves on f. 37 are green; on f. 26^{v} some missing notes have been added by another hand on purple and brown staves; on f. 13^{v} the original hand has added a 2-line red, and on f. 58^{v} a 2-line brown stave, and on f. 139 one of 4 lines; while on f. 126^{v} another hand has added 7 neums without lines, but with signature *F*. On f. 61 a short black 5th line has been drawn through the top of a neum above the red stave. For pitch-signatures of lines we have *D*, *a* (rare), *g* (only, I think, on f. 124^{v}), $\overset{b}{b}$ (very rare), and—what I have never seen elsewhere—a few instances of *double b quadratum*—that is to say, one *b quadratum* written over another (though here joined into a single character), and having the value of *b*♮ in the highest octave (Riemann, *Studien, &c.*, p. 66): those I have noticed are on ff. 25 (middle of 8th stave, end of 9th, beginning and middle of 10th) and 47 (middle of 3rd and beginning of 5th stave). For pitch-signatures of spaces we have *b*, *b quadratum* (much the commonest), and occasionally *d*. There are several *double* signatures at the beginning of a stave: on ff. 7, 7^{v}, 45^{v} we have $\overset{b}{b}$ for the top line and *d* for the bottom space, on ff. 25, 47 *double b quadratum* for the top line and *d* for the bottom space—on f. 25 also *b* for the top and *d* for the bottom space; on f. 28 *a* for the top and *D* for the third line. Let me add that on ff. 67^{v}, 68 we have 4 lines of text set for *two* voices, the upper being the descant: they are part of the Easter service ('Dicant nunc iudei . . .'), and, although they occur in the St. Alban's Processional (MS. Laud misc. 4), they are there set (ff. 89^{v}, 90) for one voice only.

The volume is produced by 2 Irish scribes, each completing his own part as regards text, illumination, and music. One produced ff. 1-108 and 132-149 (the end of the book, which has lost 2 leaves after this), the other the intervening ff. 109-131. Both were clearly accustomed to music-writing, but B. writes the more cursive hand. A. fills in his ornamentation before his music, B. his music before his ornamentation. A. was much better trained in the English style of writing and ornamentation, and apparently belonged to an older generation than the second scribe. Both were clearly accustomed to neum-writing, and their neums are less note-shaped than those of the St. Alban's Processional and Gradual: but I do not think their work earlier than *about* 1165—and (as Ireland lay outside the ordinary current of change) it might some day be found to be appreciably later. Mr. Bannister says that the neums for the unwritten king's name in the *Exultet* on f. 64^{v} show that it was of 3 syllables, with the first 'liquescent', as *Henrico*: he adds that 'the singing of the name of the

[1] Received in 1756 in the bequest of bishop Richard Rawlinson.

'proles' to the exclusion of the 'regina' suggests to him a date after the coronation of the young Henry on June 14, 1170, and that Waterford did not come into English hands until the end of that year'. This may be so, but on the other hand the prayer may be for a purely Irish king. **SECTIONS 28, 29.**

On examining the contents in detail I find that the MS. is an Irish adaptation of an English book, and I have no doubt that it was either directly or ultimately copied from a Winchester Gradual.

In the litany (f. 66) not one Irish saint is invoked: but Birinus, bishop of Wessex and founder of Winchester cathedral, *is*. With that addition and the (of course) accidental omission of Paul, the saints of the litany are simply those of the Tours-Winchester litany, and the prayers which follow abound in correspondences with those of the Winchester Troper. There is no 'commemoration' for any Irish saint except Brigit (f. 102^v) and Patrick (f. 106), and in each case only the first words are given of the pieces to be sung: no music is added, and both commemorations occupy less than 2 lines.

Malchus, an Irishman, and monk of Winchester, was consecrated first bishop of Waterford on Dec. 28, 1096, at Canterbury (Eadmer, Rolls series ed., pp. 76-7). Anselm afterwards made him the bearer of a letter of remonstrance to Samuel, bishop of Dublin (Migne's ed., ii, 216). St. Bernard describes St. Malachi as going for instruction to Malchus, an old man full of days, an Irishman who had been a monk in Winchester monastery, from which he was taken to be bishop in Lismor (Migne's ed., i, 1079). This was not only before St. Malachi himself became a bishop, which was in 1124, but Malchus was still living about 1132 (Migne's ed., i, 1087-9). It is impossible to suppose that this was a different Malchus: the only doubt is whether he was translated from Waterford to Lismor, or whether the two sees were temporarily united—as they were permanently in 1363.

Of course the MS. *may* have no connexion, however remote, with Malchus; but he would be morally certain to bring over, or cause to be made, for his new see of Waterford, a set of the Winchester service-books, and from one of these our MS. may directly or indirectly have been copied, whether for use at Waterford or elsewhere.

It would be more likely to be copied for use at Waterford than for use at Lismor, since Lismor had a special saint—Carthach, otherwise called Mochuda—and it is incredible that he should be omitted both from the litany and the commemorations in a Lismor gradual. On the other hand Waterford was a new see, with a new cathedral dedicated to Patrick, one of the 2 Irish saints commemorated in the volume.

Each scribe apparently wrote 'oemanuel'[1] at the top right corner of each new gathering, as an invocation to Emanuel to bless him. The words, or part of them only, can be seen on ff. 13, 25, 49, 61, 73, 85, 132. Their absence on 37, 97, 144, and occasional mutilation elsewhere, afford evidence that the volume has been cut down both in height and breadth.

§ 29. **MS. Rawlinson D. 1225**[2], a curiously illuminated Martyrology, which I conjecture to have been written about 1170. It contains many notes relating to St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, and, as the original scribe left a space at foot of f. 35^v for the insertion of a notice of Chad, it was almost certainly written there. Many saints native to this kingdom are added in the margin by various hands; but, whereas the veneration of some of these began in the 12th or 13th cent., that of others dates from before the Conquest, and I do not, except in one case, see how to draw from the additions any safe conclusions as to the date of the body of the book. The exception is the feast of Becket's martyrdom, which, I feel sure, would have been entered as soon as he was canonized: as it is added (f. 14^v) by a hand which is neither that of the scribe of the manuscript, nor that of his collaborator who wrote the notice of St. Chad, I date the MS. before Becket's canonization in 1173.

[1] On f. 73 a . follows, but elsewhere the *l* comes so close to the margin that the presence or absence of a stop cannot be determined.

[2] Received in 1756 in the bequest of bishop Richard Rawlinson.

SECTIONS 29, 30, 31. The rubricator of this martyrology drafted the outline of a kalendar—the present entries in which (including the names of the months) were not made for 2 or 3 centuries afterwards. At the end of this kalendar he left some blank leaves, forming part of the same gathering with it. On the *front* of the first of these is a hymn, 'Pfallat celum plaudit telluf refurgenti domino', and on the *back* of it is a list of archbishops of Canterbury to the passion of Thomas the martyr (1170), and of bishops of the diocese in which Shrewsbury lay, as far (in the original hand) as Geoffrey, who was consecrated in 1198 and whose successor was not consecrated till 1215. Presumably the front of the leaf was written before the back of it: consequently the latest possible date for the hymn is 1215, and it may have been copied before 1174. It is written in neums, on red staves of 4 or 5 lines: each stave has the line-signature *G*, on the second or third line, and sometimes shifted in the body of the stave: this is apparently a scribe's blunder, for *G* should be a space-signature, the line-signature for an octave higher being *g* (see Facsimile No. 65).

At end are a number of pieces added by various hands, of which I mention only those which seem to me of the 12th cent.:—

(i.) Immediately after the text follows, on ff. 128-9, a praise of the Virgin, *[F] lof excellenf flof beatuf*, in formal neums on 4-line red staves (once lengthened in black), with only the moveable line-signature *C*.

(ii.) This is succeeded on ff. 129, 129ᵛ, by a praise of St. Margaret, *Flof conuallif eft egreffus*, in thinner neums of the same type, on 4-line red staves, with signature *C* on top line, or more commonly *b* in top space.

§ 30. **MS. Laud misc. 668**[1], a collection of pieces which doubtless belonged to some English religious foundation in the 12th cent. The works of Ailred and Laurence suggest a North English monastery, and a surname inside the end cover is apparently derived from Boynton in E. Yorkshire. They are in various hands, and were not put in their present binding till after the 12th cent. The music is on ff. 101-104, accompanying a hymn, *Dulcif iefu memoria dans uera cordi gaudia*, which is usually attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux. The notation is mainly by ♩ and ▪ on a red stave of 4, 3, or 5 (once, f. 103ᵛ) lines. For line-signature, *c*, *e*, *a* are used; for space-signature, only *b quadratum*.

A list of Kings on f. 138 was clearly written in the time of Henry II, but this cannot be proved of the hymn. The small-letter text of that was penned before the insertion of the stave, but the red capitals were put in after the stave. The writing (Mr. Bannister has remarked) is on the latter part of the same quire on which ends a Passion of Becket, and must therefore be later than Becket's death in 1170.

§ 31. **MS. Lat. liturg. a. 6**, a volume of scraps only bound up in recent times, includes (ff. 11, 12) two strips of vellum, about $10\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in., from some 12th cent. antiphons—but not (Mr. Bannister says) of Sarum, York, or Hereford use—which contain 19 staves, all of 3 lines, all in brown, and 7 of them having the pitch-signature *F* across the middle line! In the remaining 12 staves the pitch-signature has been cut away. This is a striking instance of the importance of preserving apparently insignificant scraps of ancient writing. Mr. Bannister does not remember the liturgical term LAVS (f. 12) in English MSS., and suspects these fragments to be French.

The only other Bodleian MS. in which I have found a 3-line stave systematically used is **MS. Douce 127**, a Psalter written in Italy at the end of the 11th or early in the 12th cent., but with marginal cues of the antiphons to the Psalms (Mr. Bannister) added probably in the latter half of the 13th cent. These are all on 3-line brown staves, but, although they often have rests and directs, they are entirely without pitch-signatures. Mr. Madan has already suggested that the mention of saints Dominicus and Restituta may point to a connexion with Sora, and I regard this as certain: indeed, Restituta is the only one of 68 saints (following the Virgin Mary)

[1] Given by Archbishop Laud in 1633.

whose name begins with a capital[1]. And I have no doubt that the book, which in its 'broken Lombard' writing[2] and brilliant ornamentation at once suggests Monte Cassino as its place of origin, was executed at that great abbey for a church in or near Sora, which lies only about 20 miles to the north. From Gattola (p. 248) I find that at the end of the 11th cent. Monte Cassino had much property in that neighbourhood, notably a church of St. Restituta, close to Morrea (9 miles N. of Sora), given to it in 1089. Unluckily, the volume was once left in an unbound state, and (after already suffering some other damage) fell front downwards on to a body of melted brown wax, which, being imperfectly wiped off, made its front page illegible: it has cost me several days' work with a microscope, penknife, and chemical reviver to restore the text of that page to view.

SECTIONS 31, 32, 33.

§ 32. **MS. Laud Lat. 95**[3], attributed in the Laudian catalogue to the outgoing of the 12th cent., I place in the 13th. The only music in it which is as old as the body of the text is on ff. 134-149ᵛ. The notation is mainly by ♪ and ▪ on a red stave of 4 lines, increased in 2 instances to 5 (ff. 147ᵛ, 148). For line-signatures, *c* and *f* are very abundant, and *D* occurs twice (ff. 143, 143ᵛ). The common space-signature is *b*, but *b quadratum* also occurs twice (ff. 141ᵛ, 143ᵛ). What I took for a *d* on f. 140 is, Mr. Bannister tells me, a *pes* (or *podatus*) *liquescens*. One stave has a double signature, *cb* (f. 141ᵛ). The volume is purely liturgical, and must have been written for Ely: see the commemorations of Hermenilda (f. 116), Withburga (f. 116ᵛ), Etheldreda (f. 119ᵛ, with double prayer), Sexburga and translation of Withburga (f. 122), with translation of Ætheldrida (f. 126ᵛ): but by the 15th cent. it had pretty clearly got to Chichester[4]—see the commemoration of Richard of Chichester at f. 132ᵛ.

§33. And now the term of this investigation has been reached—the point of time at which begin the two great volumes of 'Sacred and Secular Songs'—together with other MS. compositions—in the Bodleian library, Oxford—ranging from about A.D 1185 to about A.D. 1505[5]? These, with the separate volume of

[1] The *tall* I beginning the names of several other saints is not a capital.

[2] A facsimile of the writing will be found in the 1840 Douce catalogue, but the ornamentation there shown is a mere monochrome outline of the rich polychrome original. Specimens of the ornamentation in Westwood's *Palæographia sacra pictoria* (Lombardic MSS., pl. 2) are also inadequate.

[3] Given by Archbishop Laud in 1636.

[4] A fragment of a deed on f. 1 mentions 'the Cathedrall Churche of Chichfetre'.

[5] Vol. 1, Facsimiles; vol. 2, Transcriptions. London: Novello & Co., New York: Novello, Ewer & Co.,' 1901' (really 1902). Large 4to.

I offer the following additions and corrections:—

Vol. 1, p. x, par. 7. From Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iii, 136, we find that a release was given by Missenden in Henry III's time to St. Frideswide's in respect of rights claimed by the former on the land of the latter at Pidington, Oxon.

Vol. 1, p. xiv, last par. A row of pin-pricks over the data for 1193, pointed out by the Rev. H. M. Bannister, make it virtually certain that the tables were written between the Easters of 1192 and 1193, and *prove* that they were *used* as early as the latter year.

Vol. 1, p. xvi, par. 5, l. 5. *Add* full stop after 'ff.'.

Vol. 1, p. xvi, par. 7, l. 5. *For* 'was produced in or for' *read* 'contains the kalendar and litany of'.

Vol. 1, p. xvii, par 3. *Add* 'But see Mr. Henry Yates Thompson's 'Lecture on some English illuminated manuscripts' for a fourteenth century Horae executed for a (king and) queen, with illustrations offering strong resemblances: this MS. was in Scotland at least as early as the sixteenth century.'

Vol. 1, p. xviii, last par. *For* '1091-1102' *read* '1081-5'.

Vol. 1, p. xvii, note 2. *Add* 'It was also the shield of Holland'. See 'Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum', 4th ser., plate of Additional MS. 36,619 (date 1473), and accompanying description. Shields of other Burgundian duchies, counties, &c., will be found there'.

Vol. 11, p. 59. Mr. J. F. R. Stainer has copied the text of this song from a MS. in Sotheby's auction-catalogue for Dec. 14, 1903, lot 678. He says 'The music is the same as ours with unimportant variations. . . The following piece (a sort of sequel) has the composer's name—'quod Edmund'. [The manuscript referred to was subsequently acquired by Lord Howard de Walden, and the musical portion, which was written apparently about 1420, published by him in facsimile in 1906, with a transcription into modern notation by my sister, under the title 'Music Cantelenas: Songs, etc., from an early Fifteenth Century Manuscript.'—J.F.R.S.]

In our printed text:

For '(ware both now and)' *read* 'ioly and glad and'

" 'if ie' *read* 'thou a'

The other copy reads not 'betwray', but 'be to wronge'; not 'schalt be', but 'mist bue', with an apparent attempt to erase the 'u'; not 'trouthe', but 'truthe'; not 'lykyth', but 'like'; and not 'ever he can for to make men angri', but 'he can to make men angeri'.

In the last stave of the music, on p. 60, the words 'first time' should be written over bars 4, 5 and 6, and the words 'second time' over the last 3 bars, these being alternative endings for the two verses. In bar 7 of the bass part, for F semibreve and B minim substitute a single B semibreve.

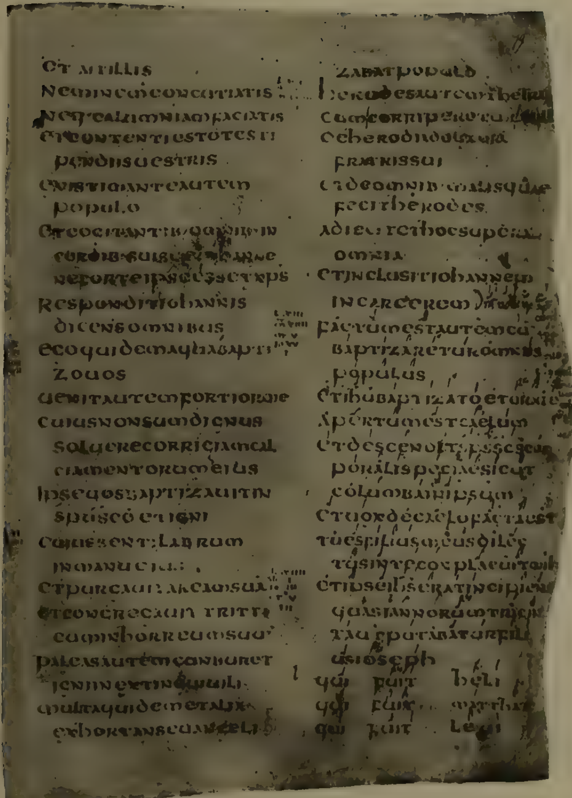
SECTION XII. 'Dufay and his Contemporaries'[1], complete the scheme conceived by us who have collaborated in it—Sir John Stainer, Mr. J. F. R. Stainer, Miss Stainer, and myself. Only one thing is wanting to the satisfaction we can claim from its completion—but that, alas! is the presence of Sir John Stainer. For his family I must not attempt to speak, but I cannot forbear a personal tribute to one of the most brilliant of performers, most delightful of composers, and most scholarly of Professors, who was not only all these things, but likewise one of the most genial and kindest of friends. And I must add on behalf of the Bodleian that the enthusiasm and generosity with which he undertook for it a work the like of which has not to my knowledge been undertaken for any of the other greatest libraries of the world entitle him to a share of its gratitude not less enduring than his already assured place in its history.

[1] The same publishers, '1898' (really 1899). Large 4to. On p. xv, 1st par., for 'cotupne' read 'colūpne', and in connexion with the name of Beltrame Feragut on p. xiii, note that in 1389 a Guillaume Ferragut is found at the University of Angers (Marcel Fournier, *Statuts et privilèges des Universités françaises*, I, 299, col. 2): his name is also spelt Ferragu (*ib.* 300, col. 2). On p. 9 strike out the last sentence of the 2nd par., beginning 'A Provence version'. Page 13, line 24, 'Verdelet' is the same person as 'Iehan Broissard, who was 'Roy des Menestrels' in 1420: see 'Grove, Dict. of Music' 2nd ed. iv, 121. Page 160. A third vocal part is to be found by reading the cantus prat backwards. The latter part of the footnote, relating to the pianoforte part, and the pianoforte part itself, are incorrect.

LIST OF FACSIMILES

[1] As shown by the thin line drawn in the 2nd of the cols. headed *k*, in the 6th space down, in the top left corner above the *e* (which is the letter for 981).

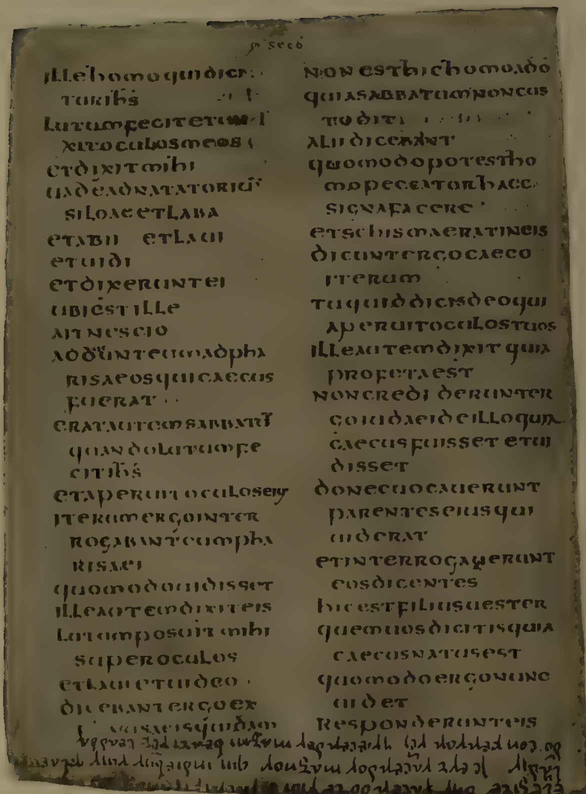
FACSIMILES.



et militis
Neminem concutiatis
neque calumniam faciatis
et contenti estote sti-
pendiis uestris
Existimante autem
populo
et cogitantib(us) omnib(us) in
cordib(us) suis de iohanne
ne forte ipse esset xps
Respondit iohannis
dicens omnibus
ego quidem aqua baptiz-
zo uos
uenit autem fortior me
cuius non sum dignus
soluere corrigiam cal-
ciamentorum eius
ipse uos baptizauit in
spu sco et igni
cuius uentilabrum
in manu eius
et purgauit aream sua(m)
et congregauit triti-
cum in horreum suum
paleas autem conburet
igni inextinguibili
multa quidem et alia
exhortans euangeli-
zabat populo
herodes autem tetrarcha
cum corriperetur ab illo
de herodiade uxore
fratris sui
et de omnib(us) malis quae
fecit herodes
adiecit et hoc super
omnia
et inclusit iohannem
in carcere
factum est autem cum
baptizaretur omnis
populus
et ihu baptizato et orante
apertum est caelum
et descendit sps scs cor-
porali specie sicut
columba in ipsum
et uox de caelo facta est
tu es filius meus dilec-
tus in te conplacuit mihi
et ipse ihs erat incipiens
quasi annorum triginta
ut putabatur filius
ioseph
qui fuit heli
qui fuit matthat
qui fuit levi

No. I. MS. AUCT. D. 2. 14, f. 79.

Vulgate Gospels, written in Gaul in the 7th cent. (?), with neums added at Bury St. Edmunds in the late 11th cent. (?). (*See p.* xvii.)

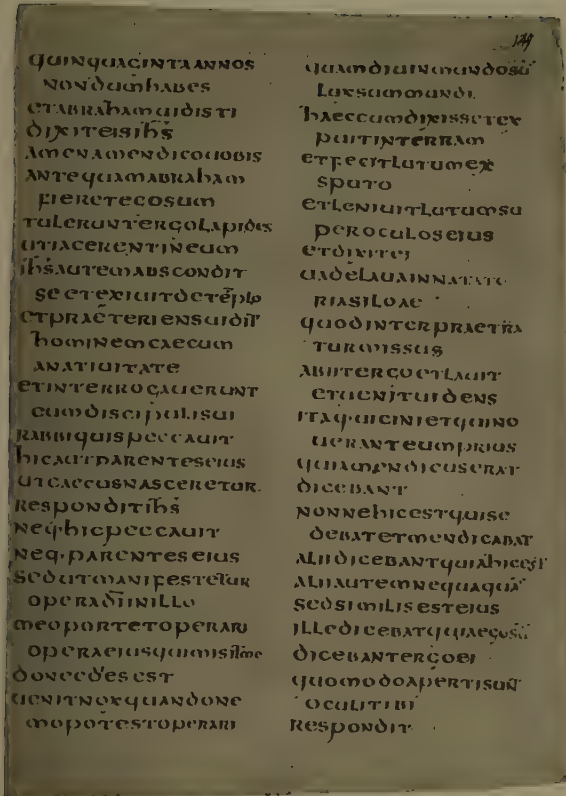


ille homo qui dicitur
iħs
lutum fecit et un-
xit oculos meos
et dixit mihi
uade ad natatoria
siloae et laba
et abii et laui
et uidi
et dixerunt ei
ubi est ille
ait nescio
adducunt eum ad pha-
risaeos qui caecus
fuerat
erat autem sabbatum
quando lutum fe-
cit iħs
et aperuit oculos eius
iterum ergo inter-
rogabant eum pha-
risaei
quomodo uidisset
ille autem dixit eis
lutum posuit mihi
super oculos
et laui et uideo
dicebant ergo ex
pharisaeis quidam

non est hic homo a deo
quia sabbatum non cus-
todit
alii dicebant
quomodo potest ho-
mo peccator haec
signa facere
et scisma erat in eis
dicunt ergo caeco
iterum
tu quid dicis de eo qui
aperuit oculos tuos
ille autem dixit quia
profeta est
non crediderunt
ergo iudaei de illo quia
caecus fuisset et ui-
disset
donec uocauerunt
parentes eius qui
uiderat
et interrogauerunt
eos dicentes
hic est filius uester
quem uos dicitis quia
caecus natus est
quomodo ergo nunc
uidet
responderunt eis

No. II. MS. AUCT. D. 2. 14, f. 149ᵛ.

Vulgate Gospels, written in Gaul in the 7th cent (?). Marginal Hiberno-Saxon addition of the 8th cent. (?), relating to St. Chad. (See p. xviii.)

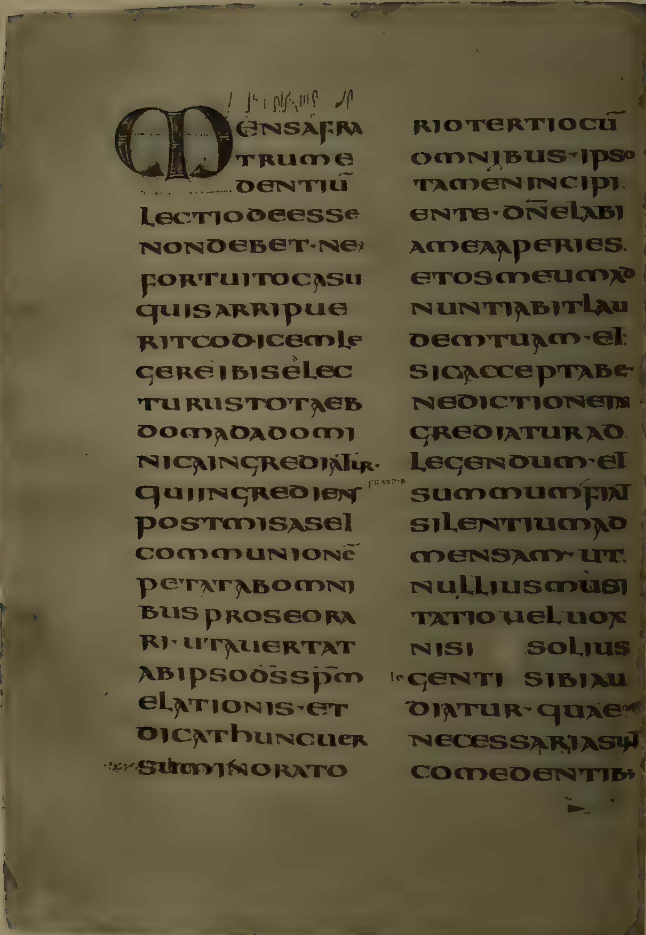

149

quinquacintaannos
nondumhabes
etabrahamuidisti
dixiteisihs
amenamendicouobis
antequamabraham
fieretegosum
tuleruntergolapides
utiacerentineum
ihsautemabscondit
seetexiuitdetemplo
etpraeteriensuidit
hominemcaecum
anatiuitate
etinterrogauerunt
eumdiscipulisui
rabbiquispeccauit
hicautparenteseius
utcaecusnasceretur.
responditihs
neqhicpeccauit
neqparenteseius
sedutmanifestetur
operadiinillo
meoportetoperari
operaeiusquimemisitdum
donecdiesest
uenitnoxquandonemo
potestoperari

quamdiuinmundosum
luxsummundi.
haeccumdixissetex
puitinterram
etfecitlutumex
sputo
etleniuitlutumsu
peroculoseius
etdixitei
uadelauainnatato
riasiloae
quodinterpraetatur
missus
abiitergoetlauit
etuenituidens
itaquicinietqui
uideranteumprius
quiamendicuserat
dicebant
nonnehicestquise
debatetmendicabat
aliidicebantquiahicest
aliiautemnequaquam
sedsimilisesteius
illedicebatquiaegosum
dicebantergoei
quomodoapertisunt
oculitibi
respondit

No. III. MS. AUCT. D. 2. 14, f. 149.

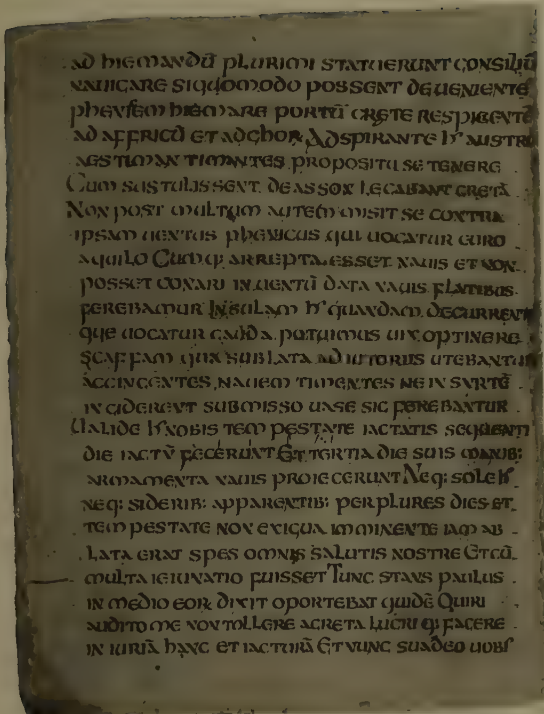
Vulgate Gospels, written in Gaul in the 7th cent. (?). (See p. xvii.)


MENSAFRA
TRUME
DENTIŪ
LECTIO DEESSE
NON DEBET NE
FORTUITO CASU
QUIS ARRIPUE
RIT CODICEM LE
GERE IBI SE LEC
TURUS TOTA EB
DOMADA DOMI
NICA INGREDIATUR.
QUI INGREDIENS
POST MISAS EL
COMMUNIONĒ
PETAT AB OMNI
BUS PRO SE ORA
RI UT AUERTAT
AB IPSO DS SPM
ELATIONIS ET
DICAT HUNC UER
SUM IN ORATO

RIO TERTIO CŪ
OMNIBUS IPSO
TAMEN INCIPI
ENTE DNE LABI
A MEA APERIES
ET OS MEUM AD
NUNTIABIT LAU
DEM TUAM ET
SIC ACCEPTA BE
NEDICTIONE IN
GREDIATUR AD
LEGENDUM ET
SUMMUM FIAT
SILENTIUM AD
MENSAM UT
NULLIUS MUSSI
TATIO UEL UOX
NISI SOLIUS
LEGENTI SIBI AU
DIATUR QUAE
NECESSARIA SUNT
COMEDENTIB

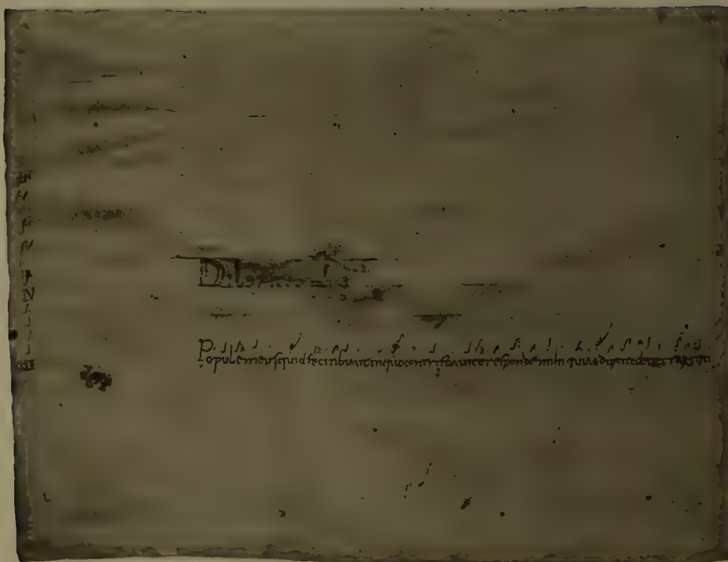
No. IV. MS. HATTON 48, f. 44v.

Benedictine Rule, written at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the late 7th cent. (?), with neums added in the early 11th cent. (?). (See p. xix.)


ad hiemandū plurimi statuerunt consiliū
nauigare siquomodo possent deuenientes
phenicem hiemare portū crete respicientē
ad affricū et ad chorū. Adspirante h' austro
aestimantes propositu se tenere
Cum sustulissent. de assos legabant cretā
Non post multum autem misit se contra
ipsam uentus phenicus qui uocatur euro
aquilo Cumq; arrepta esset nauis et non
posset conari in uentū data nauis flatibus
ferebamur Insulam h' quandam decurrentes
que uocatur cauda. potuimus uix optinere
scafam quā sublata adiutoriis utebantur
accingentes nauem timentes ne in syrtē
inciderent submisso uase sic ferebantur
ualide h' nobis tempestate iactatis sequenti
die iactū fecerunt Et tertia die suis manib;
armamenta nauis proiecerunt Neq; sole h'
neq; siderib; apparentib; per plures dies et
tempestate non exigua imminente iam ab
lata erat spes omnis salutis nostre Et cū
multa ieiunatio fuisset Tunc stans paulus
in medio eor dixit oportebat quidē o uiri
audito me non tollere a creta lucri q; facere
iniuriā hanc et iacturā Et nunc suadeo uobis

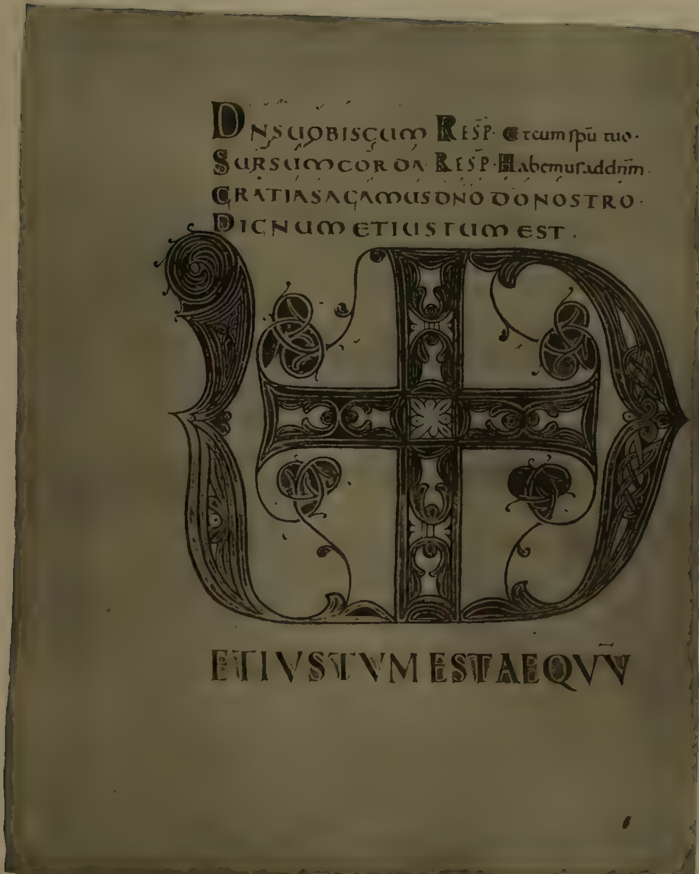
No. V. MS. SELDEN SUPRA 30, p. 101.

Actus Apostolorum, written at St. Mildred's Abbey of Nuns, Isle of Thanet, before 752 (?), with neums of uncertain date. (See p. xx.)



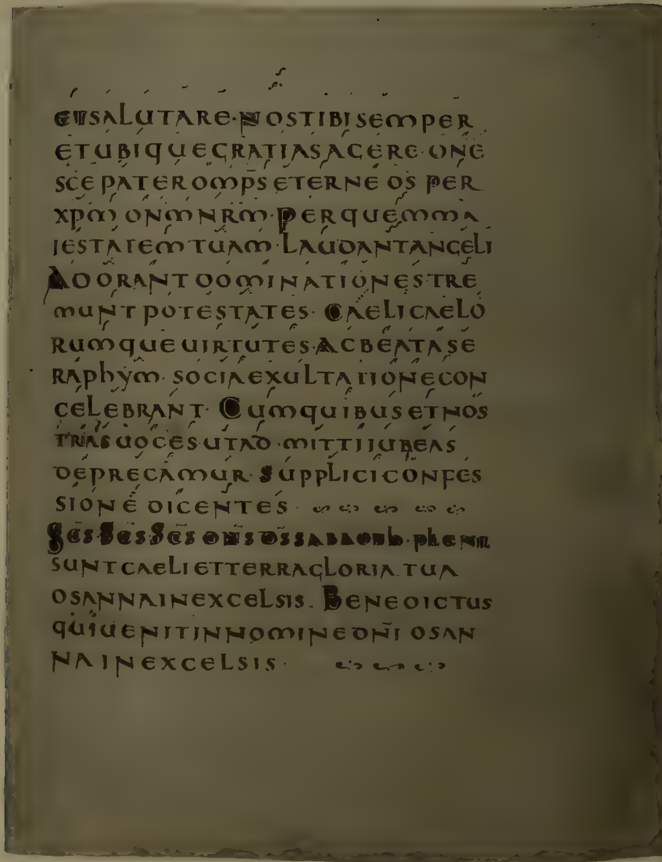
No. VI. MS. CANONICI PATR. LAT. 112, f. 112ᵛ.

Neums, perhaps written at Lorsch in the 9th cent. (See p. xxi.)



No. VII. MS. AUCT. D. 1. 20, f. 36v.

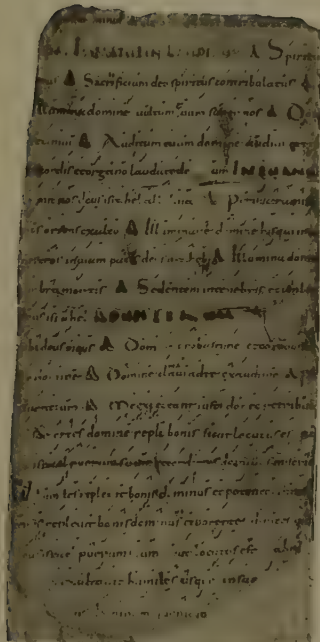
Sacramentary, written for the Church of St. Alban, Mainz, in the 9th cent. (before 853), with neums probably of the 10th or 11th cent. (See p. xxi.)



ET SALUTARE NOS TIBI SEMPER
ET UBIQUE GRATIAS AGERE DNE
SCE PATER OMPS ETERNE DS PER
XPM DNM NRM PER QUEM MA
IESTATEM TUAM LAUDANT ANGELI
ADORANT DOMINATIONES TRE
MUNT POTESTATES CAELI CAELO
RUMQUE UIRTUTES AC BEATA SE
RAPHYM SOCIA EXULTATIONE CON
CELEBRANT CUM QUIBUS ET NOS
TRAS UOCES UT AD MITTI IUBEAS
DEPRECAMUR SUPPLICI CONFES
SIONE DICENTES
SCS SCS SCS DNS DS SABAOTH PLENI
SUNT CAELI ET TERRA GLORIA TUA
OSANNA IN EXCELSIS BENEDICTUS
QUI UENIT IN NOMINE DNI OSAN
NA IN EXCELSIS

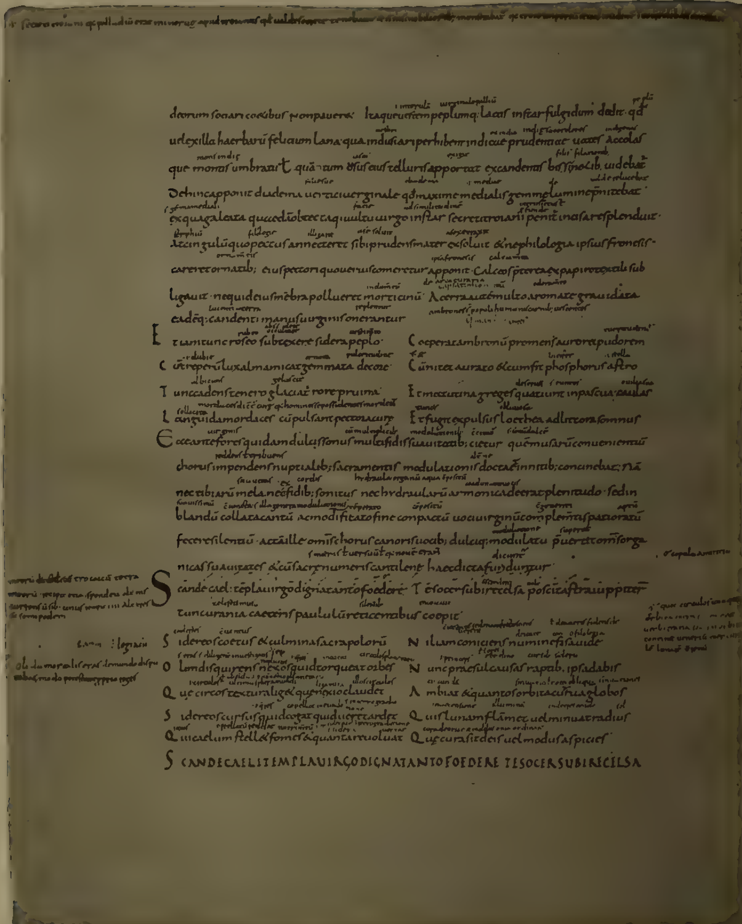
No. VIII MS. AUCT. D. 1. 20, f. 37.

Sacramentary, written for the Church of St. Alban, Mainz, in the 9th cent. (before 853), with neums probably of the 10th or 11th cent. (See p. xxi.)



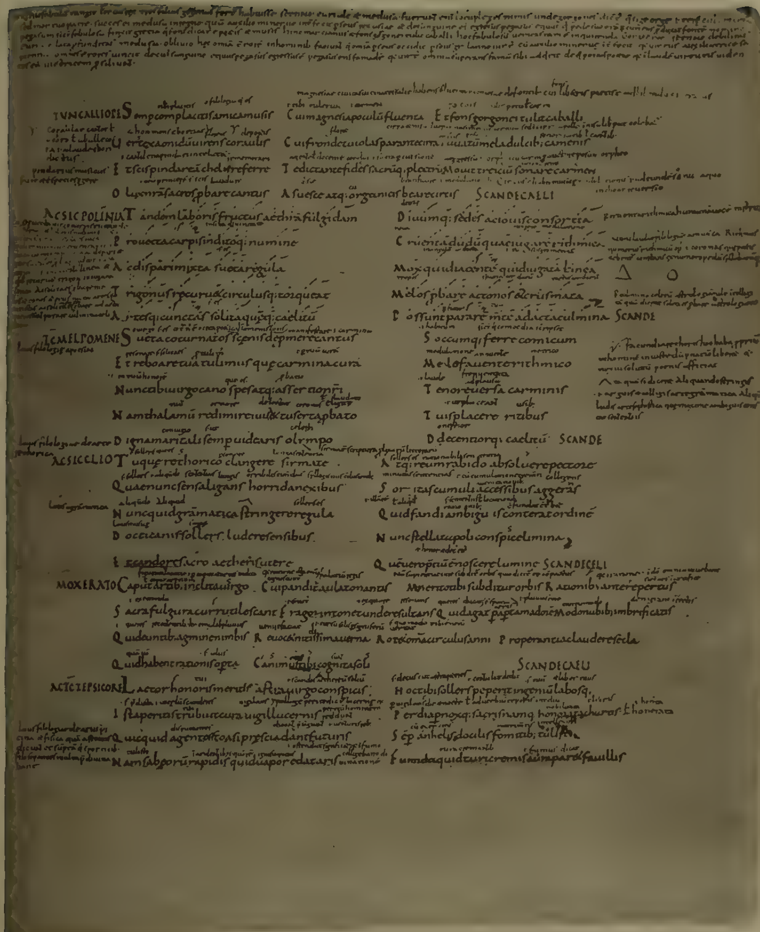
No. IX. MS. AUCT. F. 4. 26, f. 1.

Fragment of Antiphoner, written in France in the 9th or 10th cent. *(See p. xxii.)*



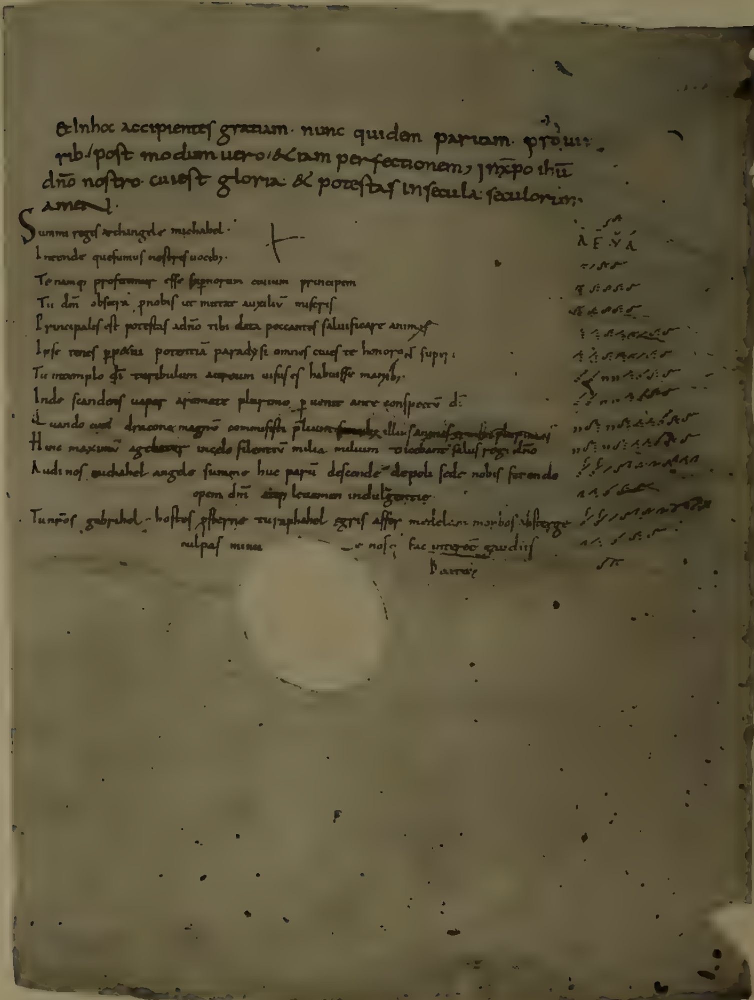
No. X. MS. LAUD LAT. 118, f. 11v.

Martianus Capella, 9th cent. (?), with 9th or 10th cent. Aquitanian neums. (*See p. xxii.*)



No. XI. MS. LAUD LAT. 118, f. 12.

Martianus Capella, 9th cent. (?), with 9th or 10th cent. Aquitanian neums. (See p. xxii.)

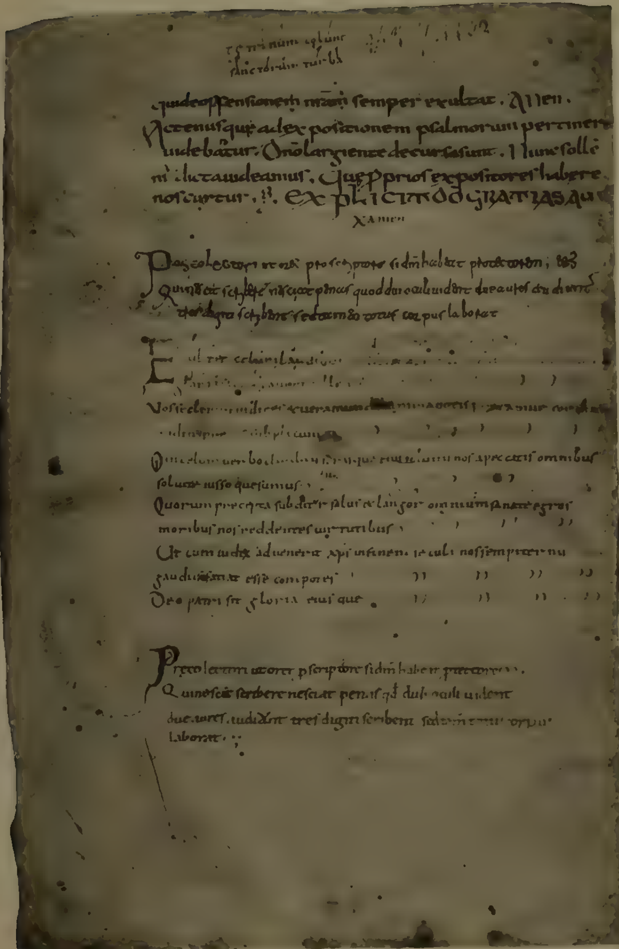


Et in hoc accipientes gratiam. nunc quidem partiam. pro uiri-
bus; post modum uero et tam perfectionem, in xpo ihu
dno nostro. cui est gloria et potestas in secula saeculorum.
amen.

Summi regis archangele michahel.
Intende quesumus nostris uocibus.
Te namque profitemur esse supernorum ciuium principem
Tu deum obsecra pro nobis ut mittat auxilium miseris
Principalis est potestas a dno tibi data peccantes saluificare animas
Ipse tenes perpetue potentiam paradysi omnes ciues te honorant superi
Tu in templo dei turibulum aureum uisus es habuisse manibus.
Inde scandens uapor aromate plenus peruenit ante conspectum dei.
Quando cum dracone magno commisisti [illegible] illius [illegible]
Hinc maximum agebant in caelo silentium milia milium dicebant salus regi dno
Audi nos michahel angele summe huc parum descende de poli sede nobis ferendo
opem dni ac leuamen indulgentie.
Tunc nos gabrihel hostes prosterne tu raphahel egris affer medelam morbos absterge
culpas minue [illegible] nosque fac interesse gaudiis
Beatorum

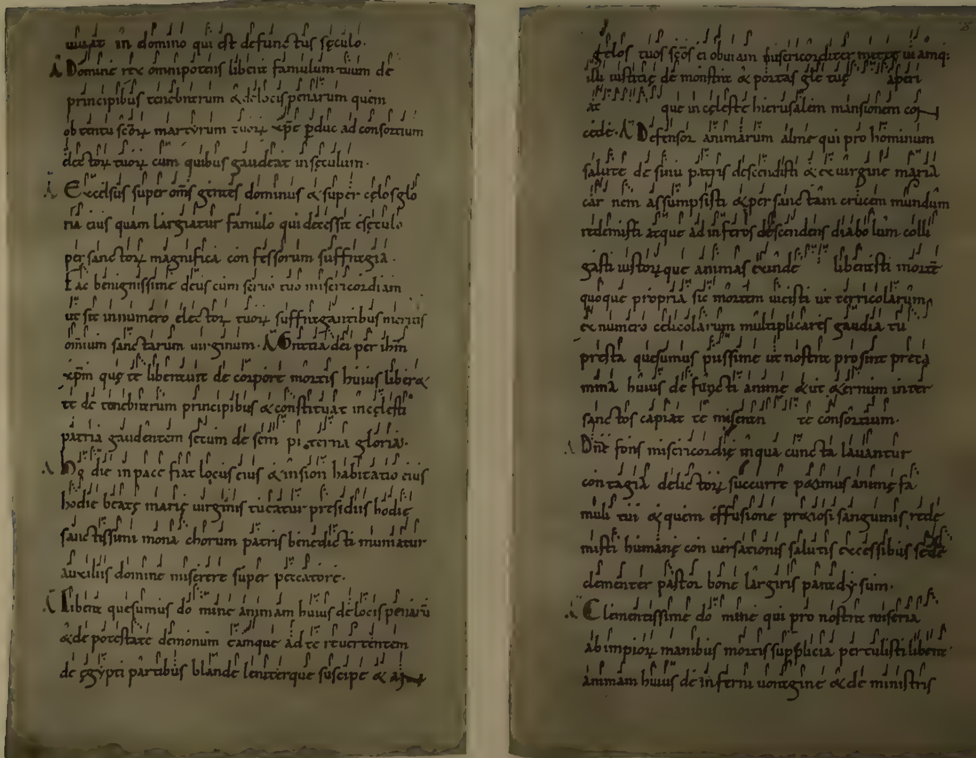
No. XII. MS. LAUD MISC. 276, f. 85.

Gregory Nazianzen, translated by Ruffinus, 9th cent., with 9th or 10th cent. neums, perhaps written at Lorsch, accompanying a 'prose' attributed to Alcuin.
(See p. xxii.)



No. XIII. MS. ADD. C. 152, f. 306ᵛ.

Cassiodorus on the Psalms, written in North Italy by an Irish scribe in the 9th cent.; with additions at the end, including Nonantulan neums (of the 10th cent. ?).
(*See p.* xxiii.)

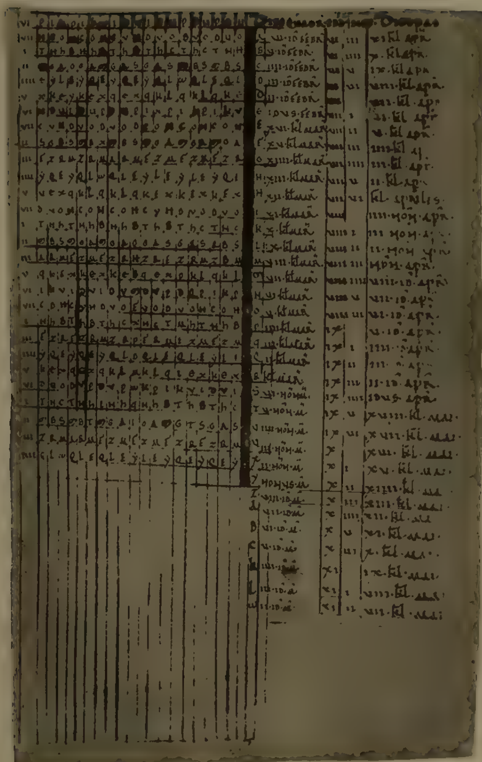


uiuat in domino qui est defunctus seculo.
R̄ Domine rex omnipotens libera famulum tuum de
principibus tenebrarum et de locis penarum quem
ob tentu scōrum martyrum tuorum xp̄e pduc ad consortium
decorum tuorum cum quibus gaudeat in seculum.
R̄ Excelsus super omnes gentes dominus et super celos glo
ria eius quam largiatur famulo qui decessit e seculo
per sanctorum magnifica confessorum suffragia.
Fac benignissime deus cum seruo tuo misericordiam
ut sit innumero electorum tuorum suffragantibus meritis
omnium sanctarum uirginum. R̄ Gratia dei per ihm
xp̄m qui te liberauit de corpore mortis huius libera
te de tenebrarum principibus et constituat in celesti
patria gaudentem secum de sem pi terna gloria.
R̄ Hodie in pace fiat locus eius et in sion habitatio eius
hodie beate marie uirginis tueatur presidiis hodie
sanctissimi monachorum patris benedicti muniatur
auxiliis domine miserere super peccatore.
R̄ Libera quesumus domine animam huius de locis penarum
et de potestate demonum eamque ad te reuertentem
de egypti partibus blande leniterque suscipe et an

gelos tuos scōs ei obuiam misericorditer mittas ut amq;
illi uiam iustitie demonstra et portas glorie tue aperi
at que in celeste hierusalem mansionem con
cede. R̄ Defensor animarum alme qui pro hominum
salute de sinu patris descendisti et ex uirgine maria
car nem assumpsisti et per sanctam crucem mundum
redemisti atque ad inferos descendens diabolum colli
gasti uictorque animas exinde liberasti mortem
quoque propria sic mortem uicisti ut terricolarum
ex numero celicolarum multiplicares gaudia tu
presta quesumus pussime ut nostre prosint preca
mina huius defuncti anime et ut eternum inter
sanctos capiat te miserante consortium.
R̄ Dn̄e fons misericordie in qua cuncta lauantur
contagia delictorum succurre precamur anime fa
muli tui et quem effusione preciosi sanguinis rede
misti humane conuersationis salutis excessibus sede
clementer pastor bone largiris paradysum.
R̄ Clementissime domine qui pro nostra miseria
ab impiorum manibus mortis supplicia pertulisti libera
animam huius de inferni uoragine et de ministris

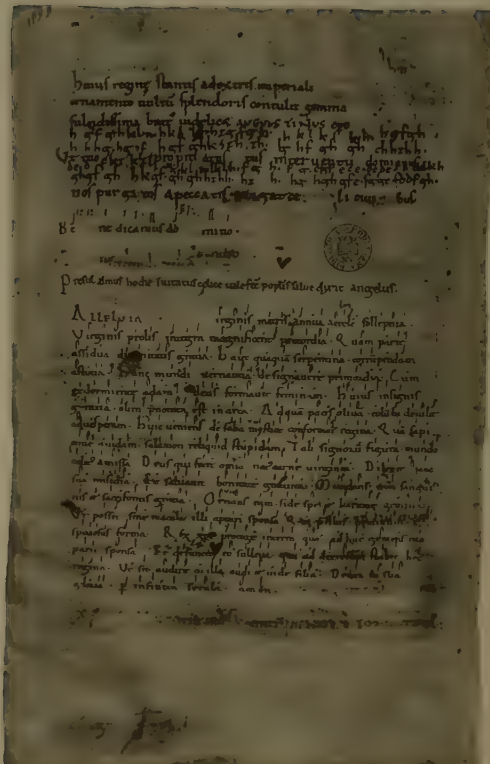
No. XIV. MS. Bodley 572, ff. 47v and 48.

Funeral Antiphons, written at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the beginning of the 11th cent. (?). (See pp. xxiv—xxviii.)



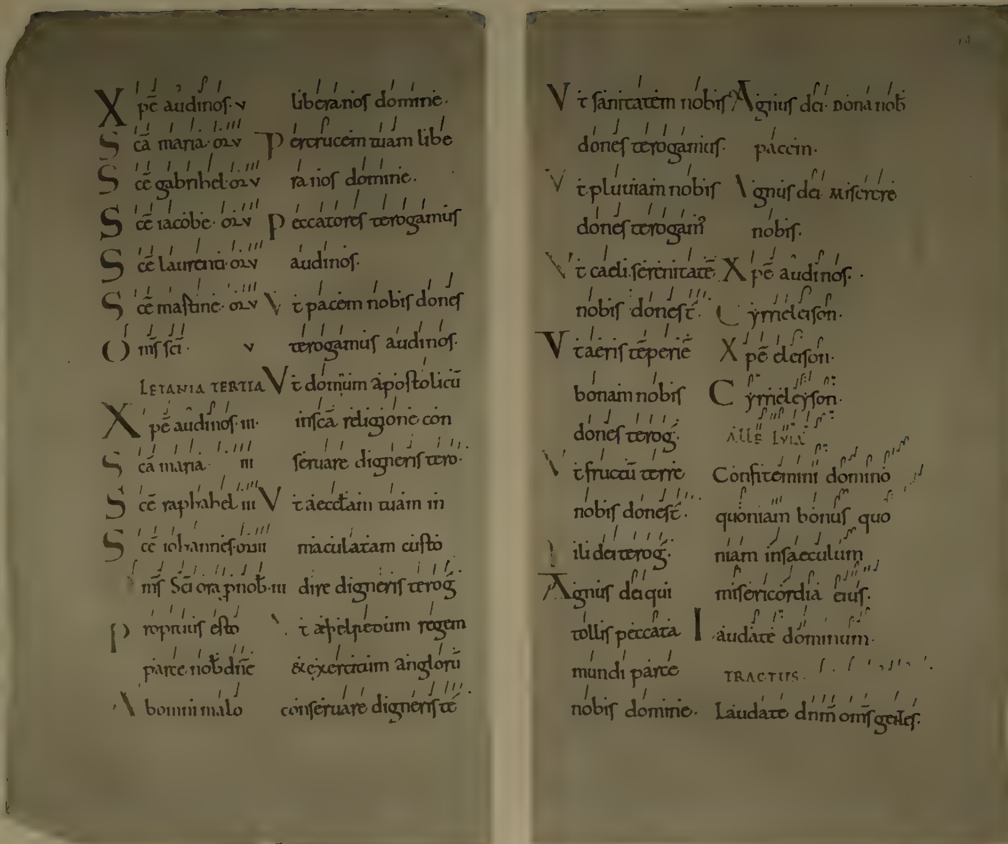
No. XV. MS. BODLEY 572. f. 40v.

Paschal Table, copied between the Easters of 980 and 981. (See p. xxvii).



No. XVI MS. BODLEY 572, f. 49v.

Music written at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the late 11th and 12th cent (See pp. xxiv—xxviii.)



Xpe audi nos. v
Sca maria. ora
Sce gabrihel. ora
Sce iacobe. ora
Sce laurenti. ora
Sce martine. ora
Omns sci. v

LETANIA TERTIA

Xpe audi nos. III
Sca maria. III
Sce raphahel. III
Sce iohannes. ora
Omns Sci ora pro nob. III
Propitius esto
parce nob dne
Ab omni malo

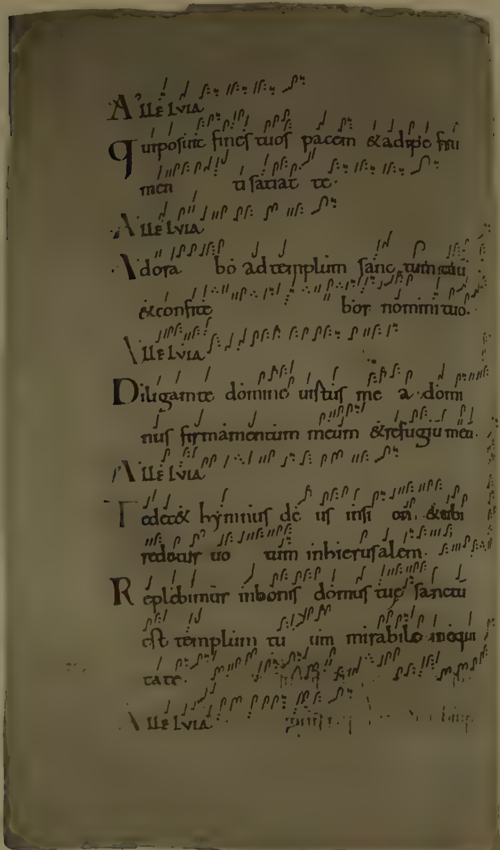
libera nos domine.
Per crucem tuam libe
ra nos domine.
Peccatores te rogamus
audi nos.
Vt pacem nobis dones
te rogamus audi nos.
Vt domum apostolicu
in sca religione con
seruare digneris te ro.
Vt aecclam tuam in
maculatam custo
dire digneris te rog
Vt aethelredum regem
& exercitum anglorū
conseruare digneris te

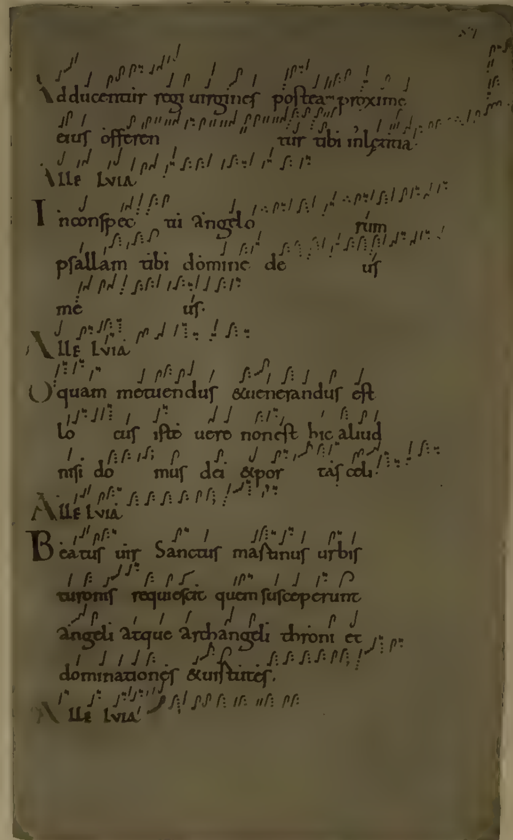
Vt sanitatem nobis
dones te rogamus.
Vt pluuiam nobis
dones te rogam.
Vt caeli serenitate
nobis donest.
Vt taeris teperie
bonam nobis
dones te rog.
Vt fructu terre
nobis donest.
Fili dei te rog.
Agnus dei qui
tollis peccata
mundi parce
nobis domine.

Agnus dei dona nob
pacem.
Agnus dei miserere
nobis.
Xpe audi nos.
Kyrieleison.
Xpe eleison.
Kyrieleyson.
ALLE LVIA
Confitemini domino
quoniam bonus quo
niam in saeculum
misericordia eius.
Laudate dominum.
TRACTUS.
Laudate dnm omns gentes.

No. XVII. MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 18v and 19.

The (Tours-) Winchester Troper, written at the Old Minster, Winchester, in 979 or 980 (?). (See pp. xxix—xxxviii.)

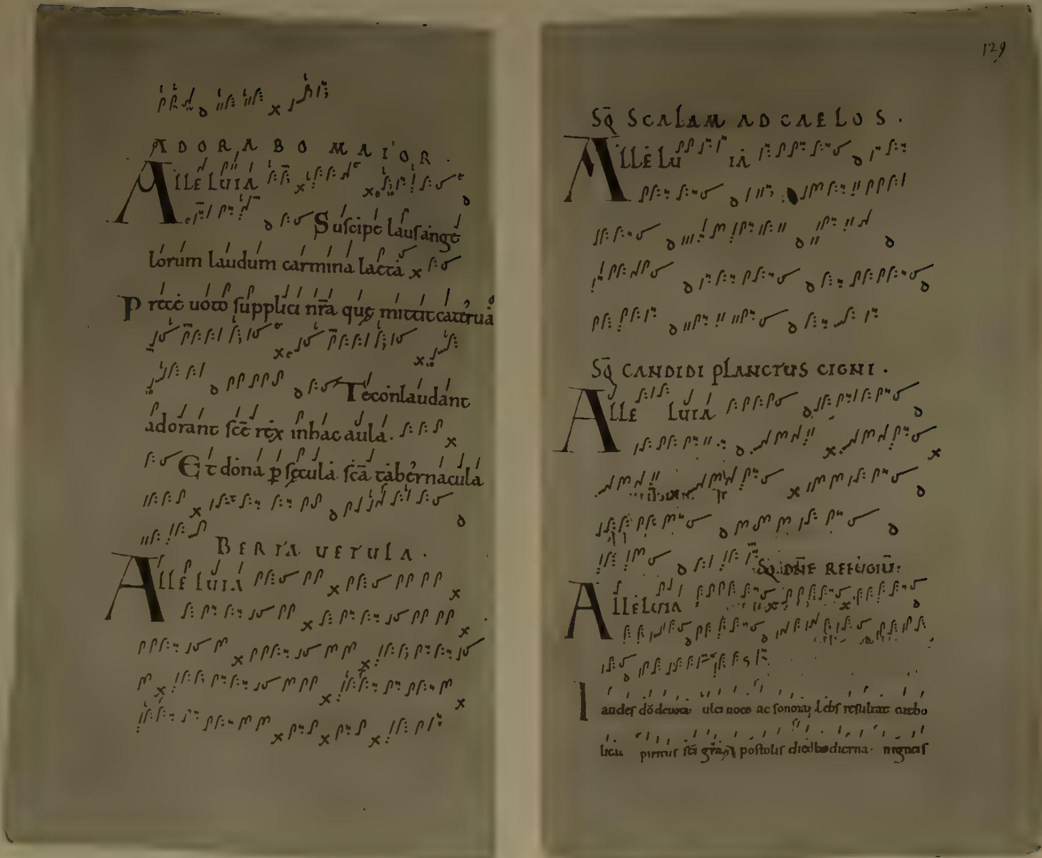




No. XVIII. MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 86v and 87.

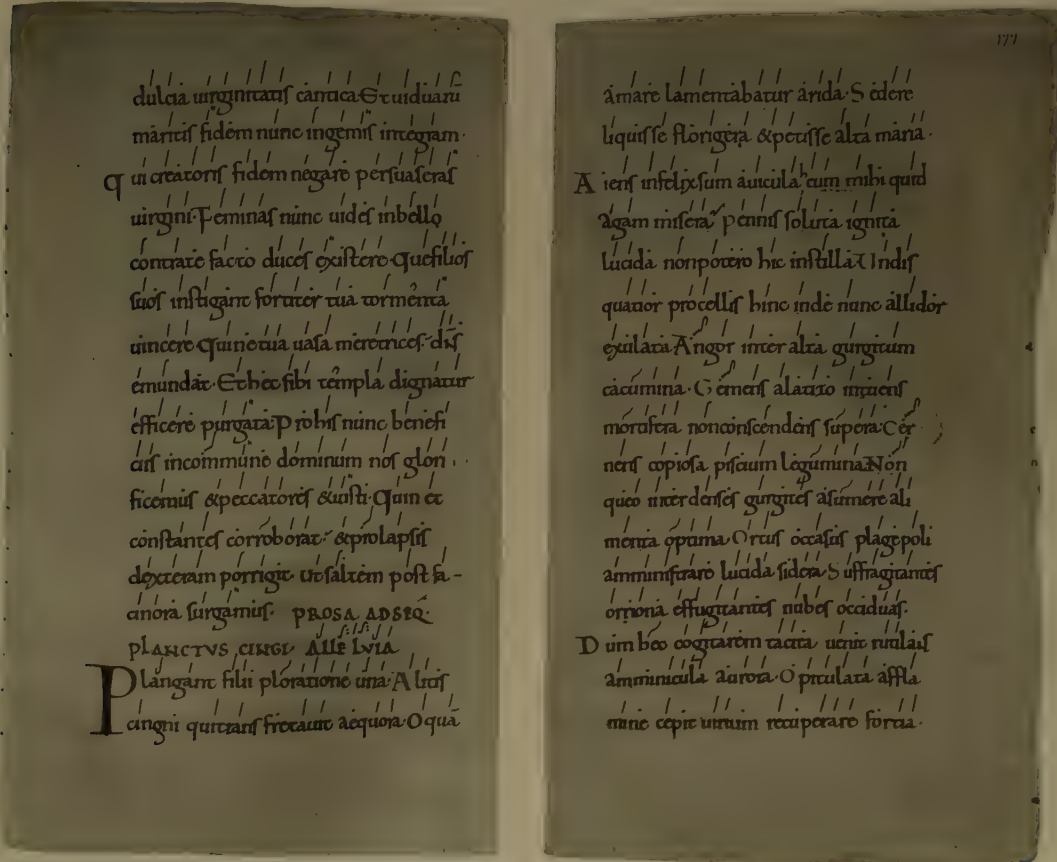
The (Tours-) Winchester Troper, written at the Old Minster, Winchester, in 979 or 980 (?). (Roman ?) Alleluias with Tours additions.

(See pp. xxix—xxxviii.)



No. XIX MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 128v and 129.

The (Troper-) Winchester Sequentiary, written at the Old Minster, Winchester, in (the third quarter of?) the 11th cent. 'Little old Berta', Plaint of the white swan', &c. (See pp. xlii—l.)


dulcia uirginitatis cantica. Et uiduatu
maritis fidem nunc ingemis integram.
Qui creatoris fidem negare persuaseras
uirgini. Feminas nunc uides inbello
contrario facto duces existere. Que filios
suos instigant fortiter tua tormenta
uincere. Qui nequitia uasa meretrices dis
emundat. Et hec sibi templa dignatur
efficere purgata. Probis nunc benefi
cus incommuno dominum nos glori
ficemus et peccatores et iusti. Quin et
constantes corroborat et prolapsis
dexteram porrigit ut saltem post fa-
cinora surgamus. PROSA AD SEQ.
PLANCTUS CYGNI ALLELUIA
Plangant filii ploratione una. Alitis
cygni qui transfretauit aequora. O quam

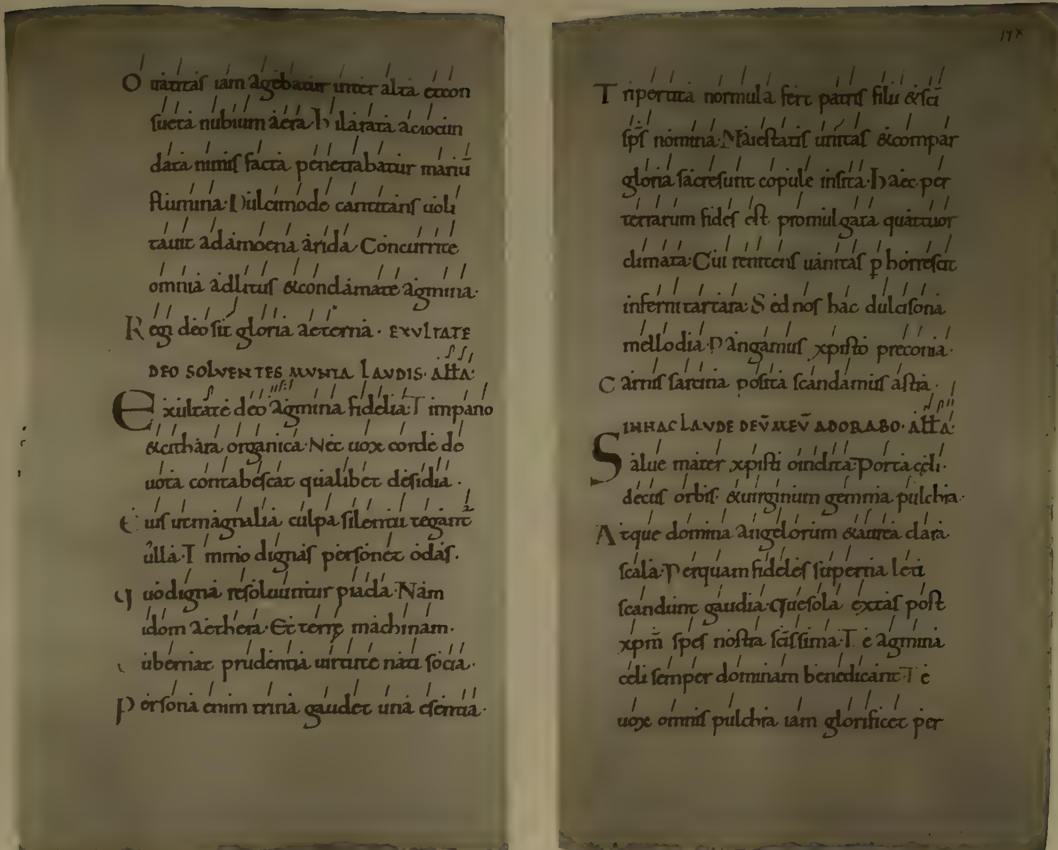
177

amare lamentabatur arida. Se dere
liquisse florigera et petisse alta maria.
Aiens infelix sum auicula, heu mihi quid
agam misera. pennis soluta ignita
lucida nonpotero hic in stilla. Undis
quatior procellis hinc inde nunc allidor
exulata. Angor inter alta gurgitum
cacumina. Gemens alatito intuens
morifera non conscendens supera. Cer
nens copiosa piscium legumina. Non
queo inter denses gurgites assumere ali
menta optima. Ortus occasus plage poli
amministrato lucida sidera. Suffragantes
orriona effugitantes nubes occiduas.
Dum hec cogitarem tacita uenit rutilans
amminicula aurora. O praeclara affla
mine cepit uirium recuperare fortia.

No. XX. MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 176v and 177.

The (Tours-) Winchester Proser, written at the Old Minster, Winchester, at close of the 10th or beginning of the 11th cent. 'Plaint of the swan', &c.

(*See pp.* xxxviii—xlii *and* xlvi—l.)



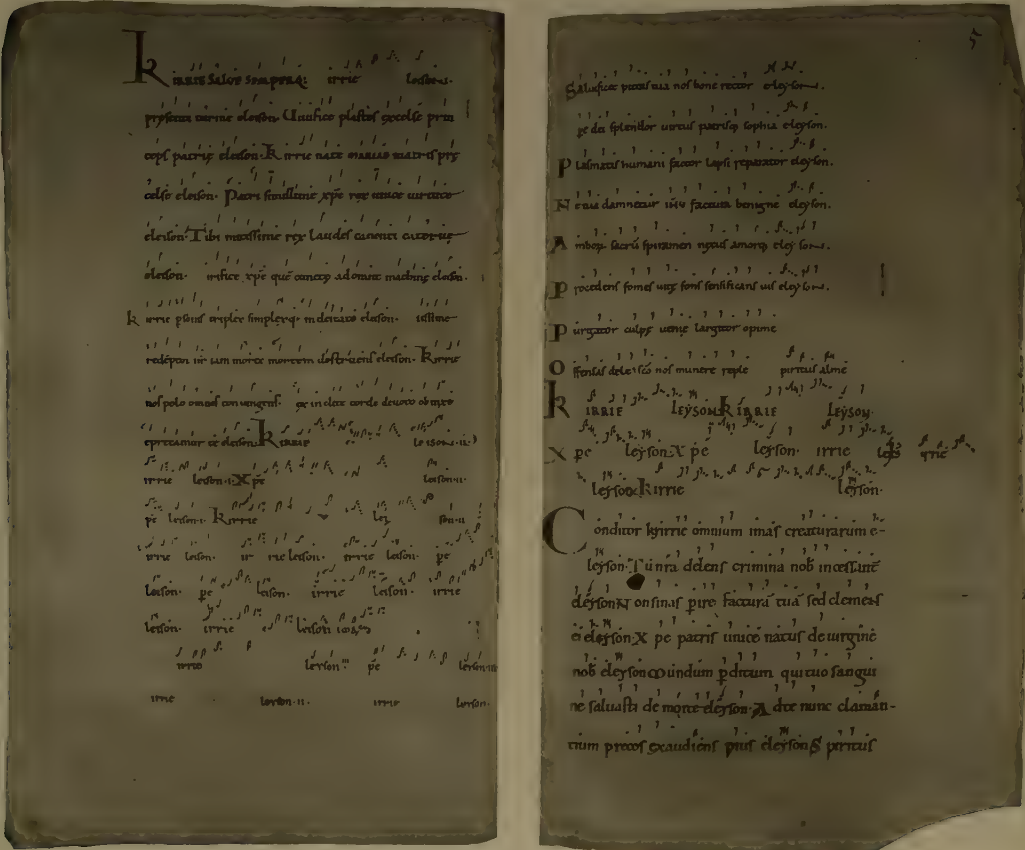
O uatrcas iam agebatur inter alta excon
sueta nubium aera. Hilarata actocum
dara nimis facta penetrabatur mariu
flumina. Dulcimode cantitans uoli
tauit ad amoena arida. Concurrite
omnia adlitus et conclamate agmina.
Regi deo sit gloria aeterna. EXULTATE
DEO SOLVENTES MUNIA LAUDIS. ALLA.
Exultate deo agmina fidelia. Timpano
et cithara organica. Nec uox corde do
uota contabescat qualibet desidia.
Cuius ut magnalia culpa silentii tegant
ulla. Timmo dignas personet odas.
Quo digna resoluuntur piacla. Nam
idem aethera. Et terre machinam.
Gubernat prudentia uirtute nata socia.
Persona enim trina gaudet una essentia.

Tripertita normula fert patris filii et sci
sps nomina. Maiestatis unitas et compar
gloria sacresunt copule insita. Haec per
terrarum fides est promulgata quattuor
climata. Cui renitens uanitas p horrescat
inferni tartara. Sed nos hac dulcisona
mellodia pangamus xpisto preconia.
Carnis sarcina posita scandamus astra.
IN HAC LAUDE DEUM MEUM ADORABO. ALLA.
Salue mater xpisti candida porta celi.
decus orbis et uirginum gemma pulchra.
Atque domina angelorum et aurea clara
scala. Perquam fideles superna leti
scandunt gaudia. Que sola extas post
xpm spes nostra sanctissima. Te agmina
celi semper dominam benedicant. Te
uox omnis pulchra iam glorificet per

No XXI MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 177v and 178.

The (Tours) Winchester Proser, written at the Old Minster, Winchester, at close of the 10th or beginning of the 11th cent. 'Plaint of the swan,' &c.

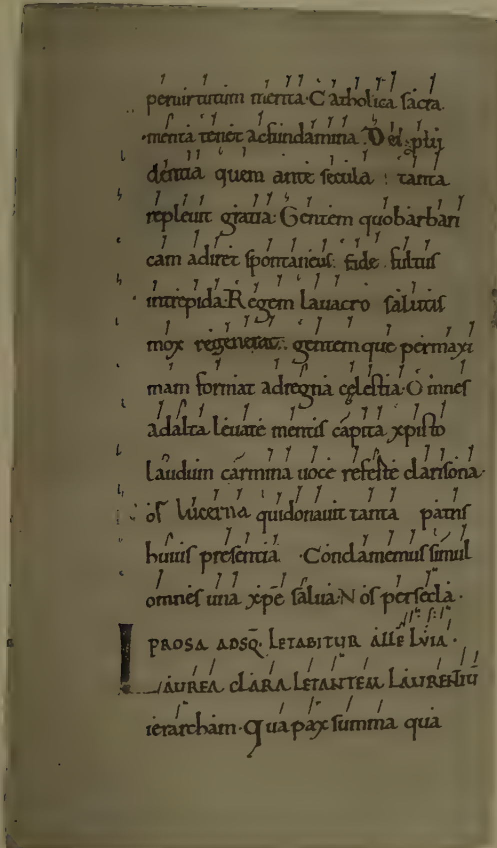
(See pp. xxxviii—xlii and xlvi—l.)



No XXII. MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 4v and 5.

The (Tours-) Winchester Troper, written at the Old Minster, Winchester. Additions of (?) the first half of the 12th cent. Spaced neums.

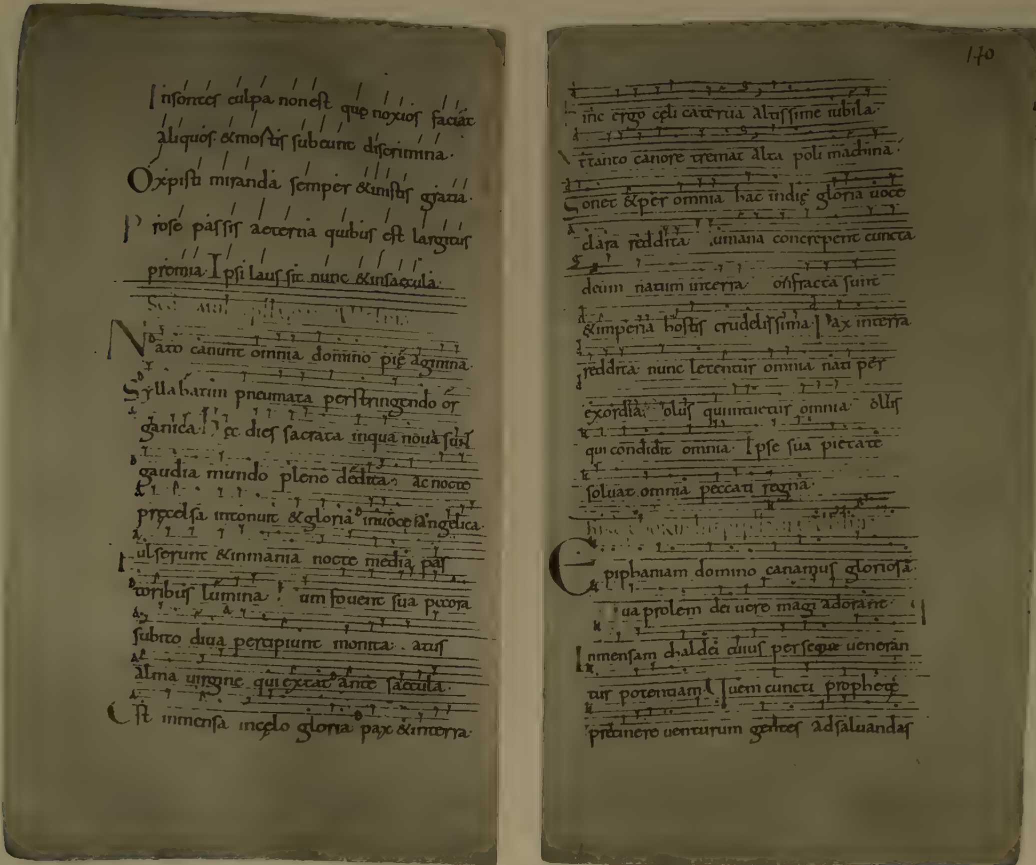
(See p. l.)


peruirtutum merita· Catholica sacra-
menta tenet acfundamina· O ei ꝓui-
dentia quem ante secula : tanta
repleuit gratia: Gentem quobarbari-
cam adiret spontaneus: fide fultus
intrepida: Regem lauacro salutis
mox regenerat:. gentemque permaxi-
mam formiat adregna celestia· Omnes
adalta leuate mentis capita xpisto
laudum carmina uoce refelte clarisona·
os lucerna quidonauit tanta patris
huius presentia· Condamemus simul
omnes una xpe salua· Nos persecla·
PROSA ADSQ· LETABITUR ALLE LVIA·
AUREA CLARA LETANTEM LAURENTIU
ierarcham· Qua pax summa qua

No. XXIII. MS Bodley 775, f. 159v.

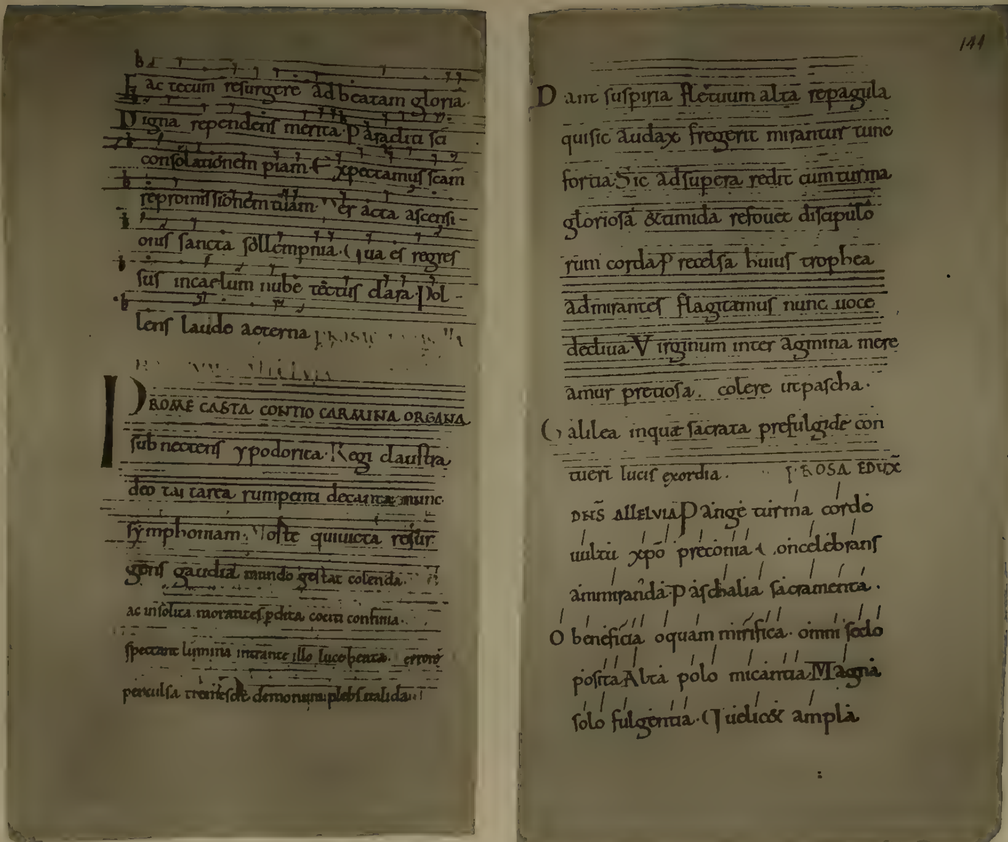
The (Tours-) Winchester Proser, written at the Old Minster, Winchester. Text and neums altered by 11th cent. hand, with 'Metz letters'.

(*See p.* li.)



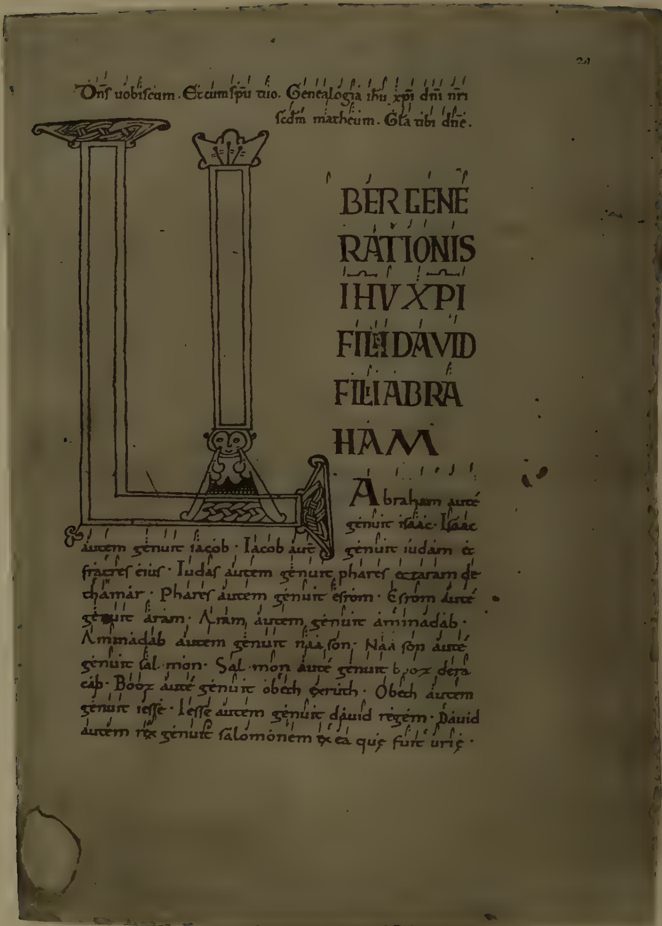
No. XXIV. MS. BODLEY 775, f. 139^{v} and 140.

The (Tours-) Winchester Proser, written at the Old Minster, Winchester. 12th cent. neums on red staves, with pitch signatures, over original staveless neums erased. (*See p.* lii.)



No. XXV. MS. BODLEY 775, ff. 143v and 144.

The (Tours-) Winchester Proser, written at the Old Minster, Winchester. 12th cent. red-stave music over original staveless neums erased. (See p. iii.)



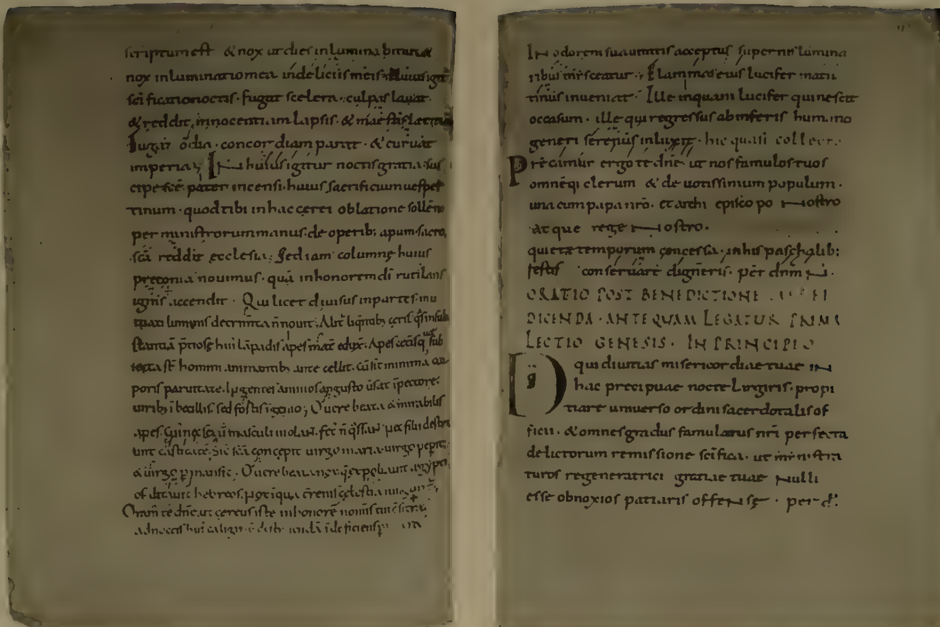
Dns uobiscum. Et cum spu tuo. Genealogia ihu xpi dni nri
scdm matheum. Gla tibi dne.

LIBER GENERATIONIS IHU XPI FILII DAVID FILII ABRAHAM

Abraham autē genuit isaac. Isaac autem genuit iacob. Iacob autē genuit iudam et fratres eius. Iudas autem genuit phares et zaram de thamar. Phares autem genuit esrom. Esrom autē genuit aram. Aram autem genuit aminadab. Aminadab autem genuit naason. Naason autē genuit salmon. Salmon autē genuit booz de racab. Booz autē genuit obeth ex ruth. Obeth autem genuit iesse. Iesse autem genuit dauid regem. Dauid autem rex genuit salomonem ex ea quae fuit uriae.

No. XXVI MS. AUCT. D. 2. 16, f. 29.

Vulgate Gospels, written at Landévennec in Brittany (?) in the 10th cent., with neums added at Exeter (?) in the latter half of the 11th cent. (See p. liii.)

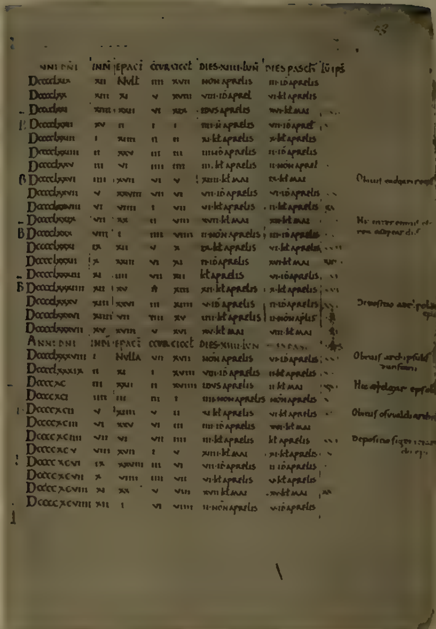

scriptum est & nox ut dies inluminabitur &
nox inluminatio mea in deliciis meis. Huius igitur
sanctificatio noctis fugat scelera. culpas lavat.
& reddit innocentiam lapsis. & mestis leticiam.
Fugat odia. concordiam parat. & curvat
imperia. In huius igitur noctis gratia. sus
cipe sancte pater incensi huius sacrificium vesper
tinum. quod tibi in hac cerei oblatione sollemni
per ministrorum manus de operibus apum sacro
sancta reddit ecclesia. Sed iam columne huius
preconia novimus. quam in honorem dei rutilans
ignis accendit. Qui licet divisus in partes mu
tuati luminis detrimenta non novit. Alitur liquantibus ceris quas in sub
stantiam pretiose huius lampadis apes mater eduxit. Apes ceteris que sub
iecta sunt hominum animantibus antecellit. Cum sit minima cor
poris parvitate. ingentes animos angusto versat in pectore.
viribus imbecillis sed fortis ingenio. O vere beata & mirabilis
apes. Cuius nec sexum masculi violant. fetus non quassant. nec filii destru
unt castitatem. Sic sancta concepit virgo maria. virgo peperit
& virgo permansit. O vere beata nox que expoliavit egyptios
& ditavit hebreos. nox in qua terrenis celestia iunguntur.
Oramus te domine ut cereus iste in honore nominis tui consecratus.
ad noctis huius caliginem destruendam indeficiens . . .

In odorem suavitatis acceptus supernis lumina
ribus misceatur. Flammas eius lucifer matu
tinus inveniat. Ille inquam lucifer qui nescit
occasum. ille qui regressus ab inferis humano
generi serenus inluxit. hic quasi coll . . .
Precamur ergo te domine. ut nos famulos tuos
omnemque clerum & devotissimum populum.
una cum papa nostro. et archiepiscopo nostro
atque rege nostro.
quiete temporum concessa. in his paschalibus
festis conservare digneris. per dominum.
ORATIO POST BENEDICTIONEM . . .
DICENDA. ANTEQUAM LEGATUR PRIMA
LECTIO GENESIS. IN PRINCIPIO.
Deus qui divitias misericordiae tuae in
hac precipuae nocte largiris. propi
tiare universo ordini sacerdotalis of
ficii. & omnes gradus famulatus nostri perfecta
delictorum remissione sanctifica. ut ministra
turos regeneratrici gratiae tuae nulli
esse obnoxios patiaris offensae. per d.

No. XXVII. MS. BODLEY 579, ff. 111v and 112.

"The Leofric Missal," written in the diocese of Cambrai or of Arras in (the second third of) the 11th cent., with alterations and added neums.

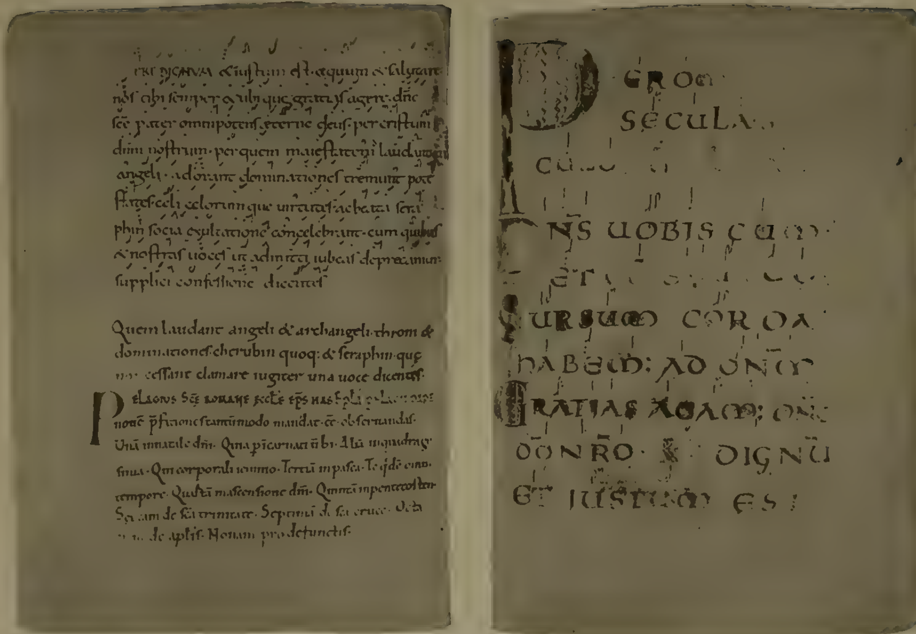
(See pp. lvi.—lviii, and note on p. xci.)



ANNI DNI	INDI	EPACT	CONCUR	CICL	DIES XIIII LUN	DIES PASCH	LU IPS	
Dcccclxix	xii	Nulla	iiii	xvii	non aprelis	iii id aprelis		
Dcccclxx	xiii	xi	v	xviii	viii id aprel	vi kl aprelis		
Dcccclxxi	xiiii	xxii	vi	xix	idus aprelis	xvi kl mai		
Dcccclxxii	xv	iii	i	i	iiii id aprelis	vii id aprel		
Dcccclxxiii	i	xiiii	ii	ii	xi kl aprelis	x kl aprelis		
Dcccclxxiiii	ii	xxv	iii	iii	iiii non aprelis	ii id aprelis		
Dcccclxxv	iii	vi	iiii	iiii	iii kl aprelis	ii non aprel		
Dcccclxxvi	iiii	xvii	vi	v	xiiii kl mai	ix kl mai		Obiit eadgar rex
Dcccclxxvii	v	xxviii	vii	vi	vii id aprelis	vi id aprelis		
Dcccclxxviii	vi	viiii	i	vii	vi kl aprelis	ii kl aprelis		
Dcccclxxix	vii	xx	ii	viii	xvii kl mai	xiiii kl mai		Hic interemptus est [illegible]
Dcccclxxx	viii	i	iiii	viiii	ii non aprelis	iii id aprelis		
Dcccclxxxi	ix	xii	v	x	xi kl aprelis	vi kl aprelis		
Dcccclxxxii	x	xxiii	vi	xi	iii id aprelis	xviii kl mai		
Dcccclxxxiii	xi	iiii	vii	xii	kl aprelis	vi id aprelis		
Dcccclxxxiiii	xii	xv	ii	xiii	xii kl aprelis	x kl aprelis		
Dcccclxxxv	xiii	xxvi	iii	xiiii	v id aprelis	ii id aprelis		Dunstano arc[illegible]
Dcccclxxxvi	xiiii	vii	iiii	xv	iiii kl aprelis	ii non aprelis		
Dcccclxxxvii	xv	xviii	v	xvi	xv kl mai	viii kl mai		
ANNI DNI	INDI	EPACT	CONCUR	CICL	DIES XIIII LUN	[illegible]		
Dcccclxxxviii	i	Nulla	vii	xvii	non aprelis	vi id aprelis		Obiit archiepiscopus dunstanus
Dcccclxxxix	ii	xi	i	xviii	viii id aprelis	iii kl aprelis		
Dccccxc	iii	xxii	ii	xviiii	idus aprelis	ii kl mai		Hic æthelgar [illegible]
Dccccxci	iiii	iii	iii	i	iiii non aprelis	non aprelis		
Dccccxcii	v	xiiii	v	ii	xi kl aprelis	vi kl aprelis		Obiit osvvald archi[illegible]
Dccccxciii	vi	xxv	vi	iii	iiii id aprelis	xvi kl mai		
Dccccxciiii	vii	vi	vii	iiii	iii kl aprelis	kl aprelis		
Dccccxcv	viii	xvii	i	v	xiiii kl mai	xi kl aprelis		Depositio sigerici [illegible]
Dccccxcvi	ix	xxviii	iii	vi	vii id aprelis	ii id aprelis		
Dccccxcvii	x	viiii	iiii	vii	vi kl aprelis	v kl aprelis		
Dccccxcviii	xi	xx	v	viii	xvii kl mai	xv kl mai		
Dccccxcviiii	xii	i	vi	viiii	ii non aprelis	v id aprelis		

No. XXVIII. MS. BODLEY 579, f. 53.

'*The Leofric Missal.*' *Inserted Paschal Table, written at or for Glastonbury in* 968 *or* 969. (*See p.* lviii.)



No. XXIX. MS. BODLEY 579, ff. 59v and 60.

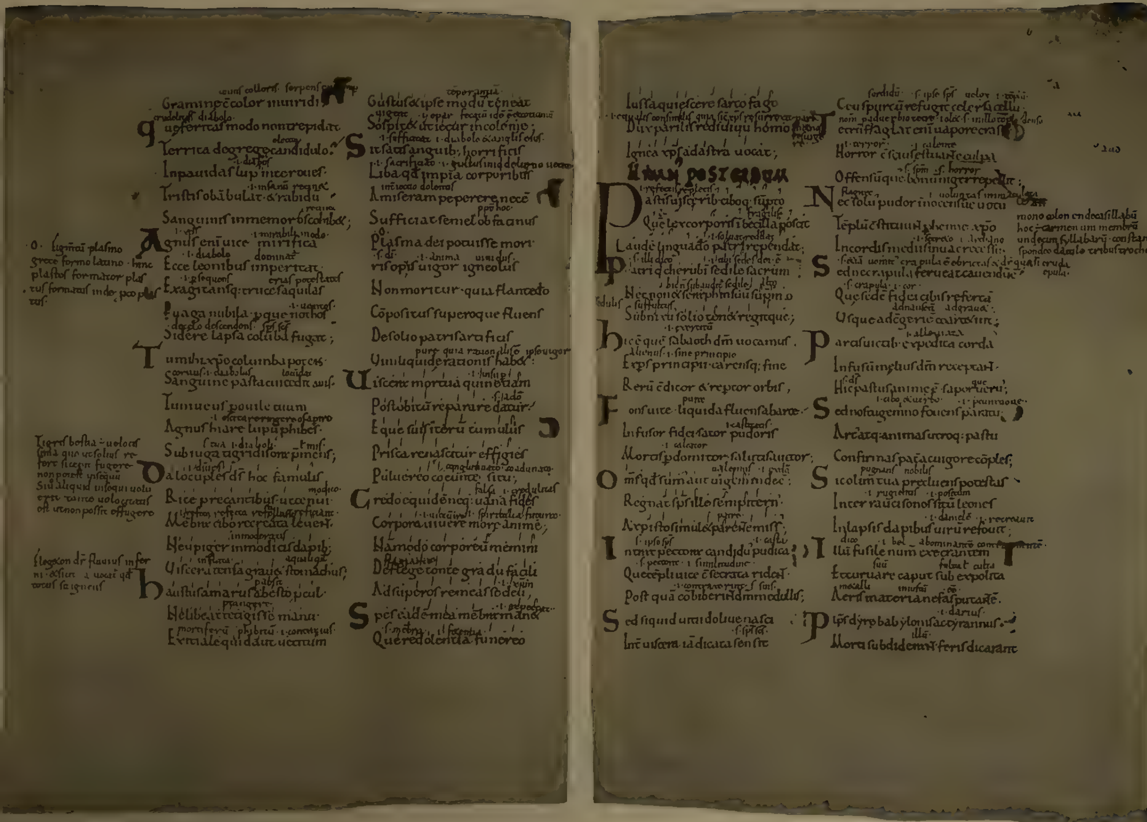
"The Leofric Missal." The text of the right-hand page is original to the Missal, but the neums were probably added in England. The left-hand page does not belong to the original Missal, but is the end page of the Glastonbury part of the volume, though its text and neums are additions to the Missal. The neums are of a peculiar N.W. French and S.W. English type. (See p. lix.)

non indicat; [H]inc p[er]eum diuina uoce precipitur:
ut is qui cisternã foderit. si operire neglegat. cor-
ruente in eam boue uel asino pretium reddat.
quia ad alta scientiae fluenta perueniens. cũ haec
apud bruta audientium corda non contegit.
poenae reus addicitur. si p[er] uerba eius in scanda
lum siue munda seu mens inmunda capiatur;
[H]inc ad beatum iob dicit: Quis dedit gallo intel
legentiam? Predicator &enim s[an]c[tu]s dum caliginoso
hoc clamat in tempore. quasi gallus cantat in
nocte cũ dicit: hora est iã nos de somno surge
re; [E]t rursus. euigilate iusti. & nolite peccare;
[G]allus autẽ profundioribus horis noctis. altos
edere cantus solet. cũ uero matutinũ iã tempus
in proximo est. minutas ac tenues uoces format.
quia nimirum qui recte predicat. obscuris adhuc
cordibus aperta clamat. nihil de occultis miste
riis indicat. ut tunc subtiliora quaeq; de caelestib[us]
audiant. cũ luci ueritatis adpropinquant;

SED INTER HAEC AD EA QUAE IAM SUPERIUS DIXIMUS.
caritatis studio retorquemur: ut predicator q[ui]sq[ue]
plus actibus quã uocibus insonet. et bene uiuendo
uestigia sequentibus inprimat. ut potius agen
do quã loquendo quo gradiantur ostendat;

No. XXX. MS BODLEY 708, f. 110.

Gregorius: Pastoralis Cura. Written in England in the 11th cent., with 11th cent. neums added at Exeter (?). (See p. lx.)



No. XXXI. MS. AUCT. F. 3. 6, ff. 5v and 6.

Prudentius. Written in England in the 11th cent., with late 11th cent. neums added at Exeter (?). (See p. lx.)

ANICII·MANLII·SEVERINI·

BOETII·EXCONSVLIS·ORDI

PHIAE·CONSOLATIONIS·

INCIPIT·LIBER·PRIMVS

CARMINA QVI

QVONDAM STVDIO FLO

RENTE PEREGI ·

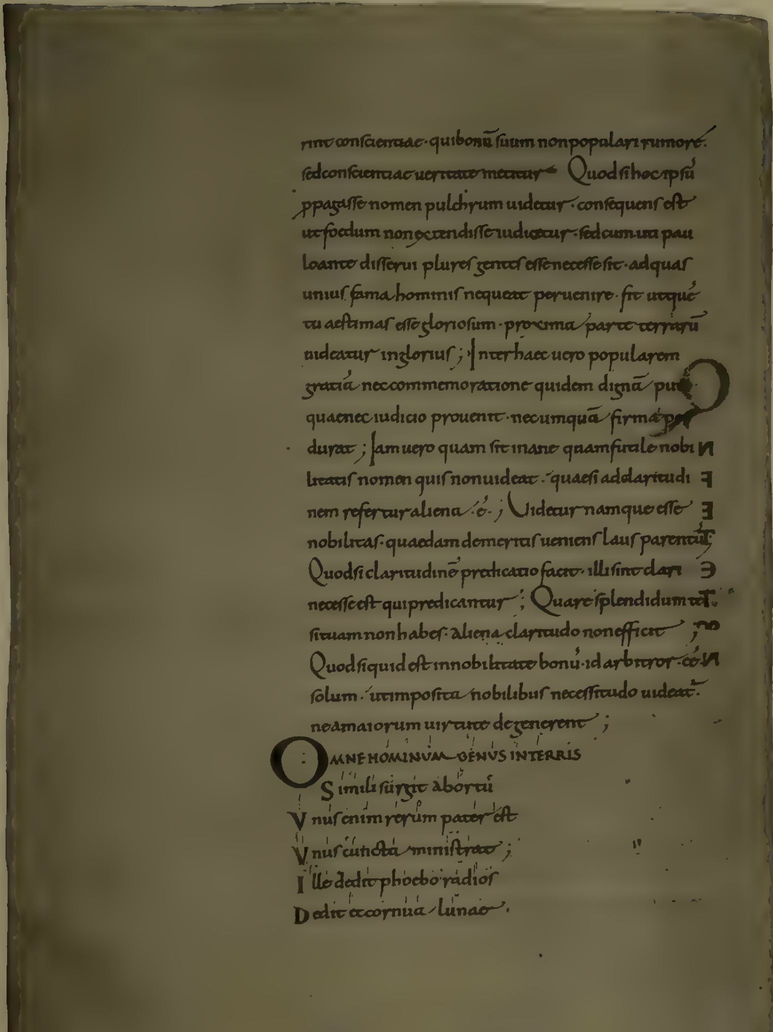
FLEBILIS HEV MESTOS COGOR INIRE MODOS ·

Ecce mihi lacerae dictant scribenda camenae

Et ueris elegi fletibus ora rigant ·

No. XXXII. MS. AUCT. F. 1. 15, f. 5

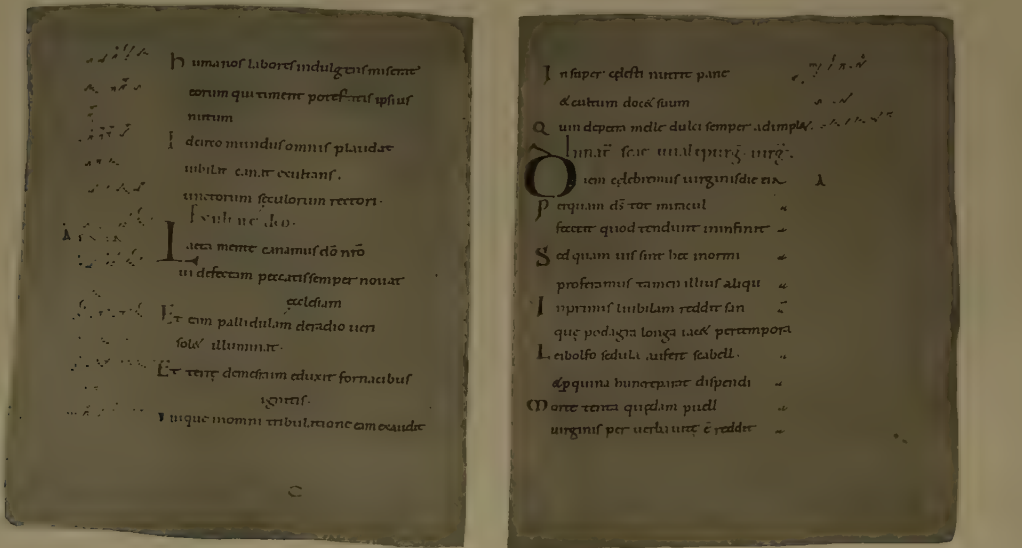
Boethius de consolatione philosophiae, written in England in the 11th cent., with 11th cent. neums added at Exeter (?). (See p. lx.)


rint conscientiae. qui bonū suum non popalari rumore.
sed conscientiae ueritate metitur. Quod si hoc ipsū
ppagasse nomen pulchrum uideatur. consequens est
ut foedum non extendisse iudicetur. sed cum uti pau
lo ante disserui plures gentes esse necesse sit. ad quas
unius fama hominis nequeat peruenire. fit ut qué
tu aestimas esse gloriosum. proxima parte terrarū
uideatur inglorius; Inter haec uero popularem
gratiá nec commemoratione quidem dignā puto.
quae nec iudicio prouenit. nec umquā firma per
durat; Iam uero quam sit inane quam futile nobi
litatis nomen quis non uideat. quae si ad claritudi
nem refertur aliena ē; Videtur namque esse
nobilitas quaedam de meritis ueniens laus parentū;
Quod si claritudinē praedicatio facit. illi sint clari
necesse est qui praedicantur; Quare splendidum te.
si tuam non habes. aliena claritudo non efficit;
Quod si quid est in nobilitate bonū. id arbitror esse
solum. ut imposita nobilibus necessitudo uideat̄.
ne a maiorum uirtute degenerent;

OMNE HOMINUM GENUS IN TERRIS
Simili surgit ab ortu
Unus enim rerum pater est
Unus cuncta ministrat;
Ille dedit phoebo radios
Dedit et cornua lunae.

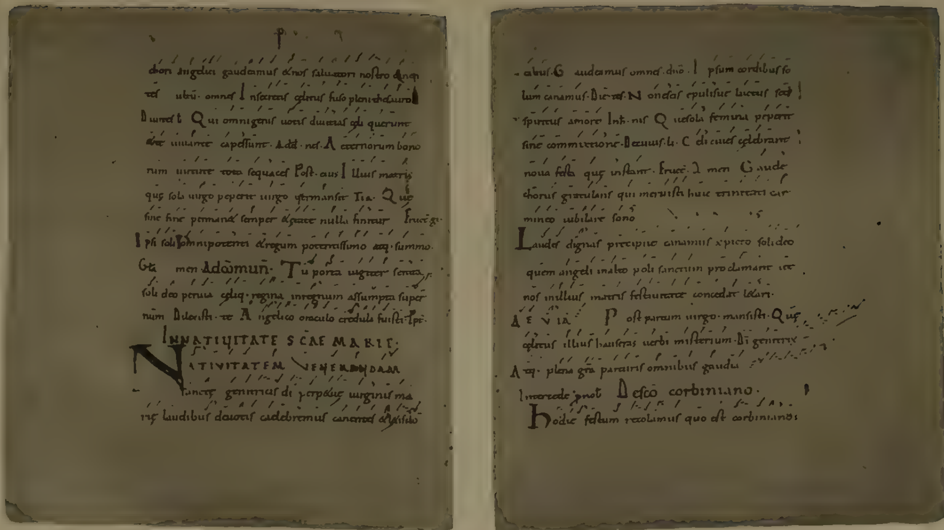
N° XXXIII. MS. Auct. F. 1. 15, f. 15'

Boethius de consolatione philosophiae, written in England in the XIth cent., with XIth cent. neums added at Exeter (?). (See p. lx.)



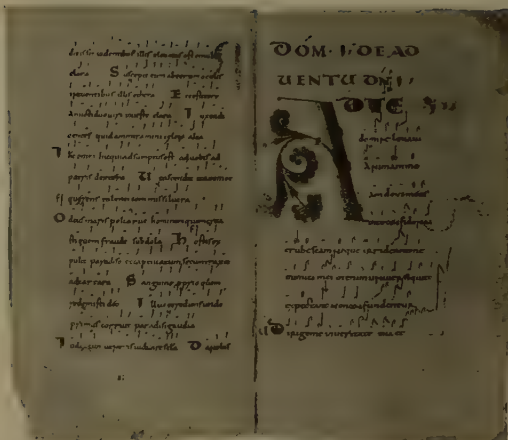
No. XXXIV. MS. SELDEN SUPRA 27, ff. 28v and 29.

(? Augsburg-) Heidenheim Sequentiary, written at Heidenheim in the late 11th cent. (See p. lxii.)



No XXXV. MS. SELDEN SUPRA 27, ff. 75v and 76.

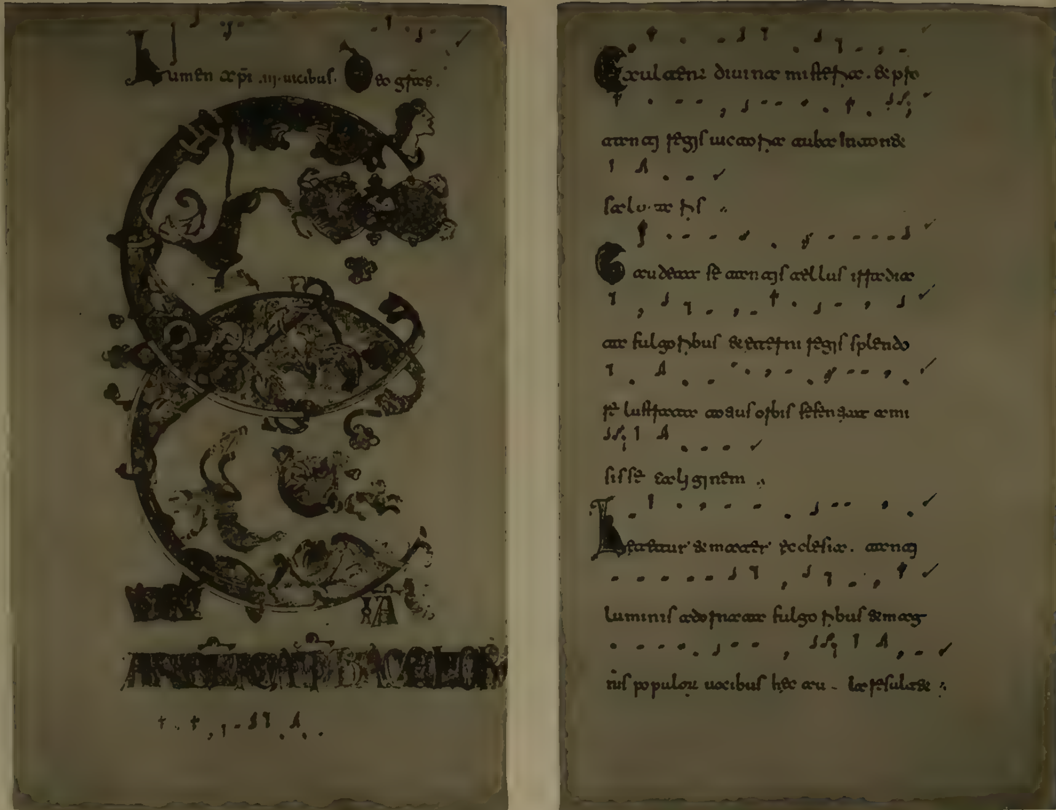
Ebersberg-Heidenheim Troper, written at Heidenheim in the late 11th cent. (*See pp.* lxii—lxvi.)



No. XXXVI. MS. DOUCE 222, ff. 101v and 102.

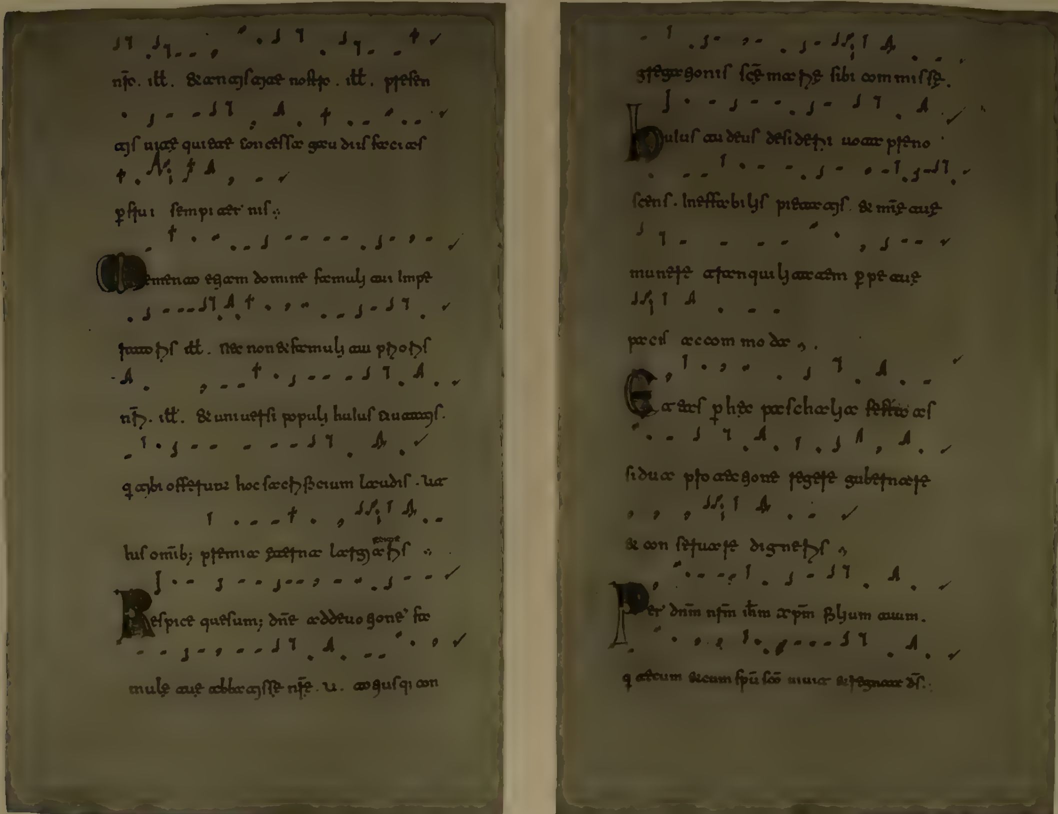
Troper from Novalesa, written in the late 11th cent. Last page of Scribe D (proses) and first page of Scribe E (proses and 'verba' to the offertory).

(*See pp.* lxvi—lxxiii.)



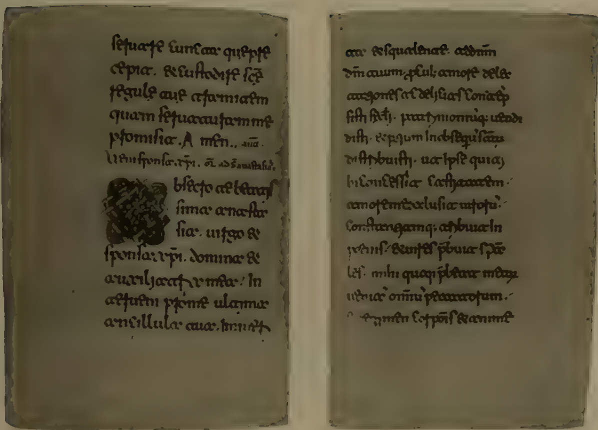
No. XXXVII MS. CANONICI BIB. LAT. 61, ff. 115v and 116.

'Lombardic' Gospel-lectionary and neums, written for the nunnery of St. Mary, Zara, Dalmatia, between 1081 and 1085. (See p. lxxiii.)



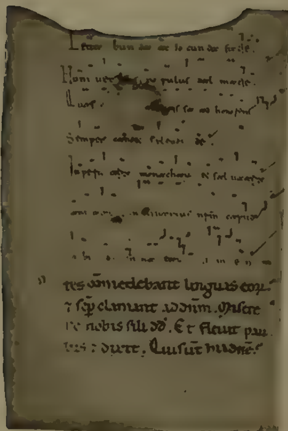
No. XXXVIII. MS. CANONICI BIB. LAT. 61, ff. 122v and 123.

'Lombardic' Gospel-lectionary and neums, written for the nunnery of St. Mary, Zara, Dalmatia, between 1081 and 1085. (See p. lxxiii).



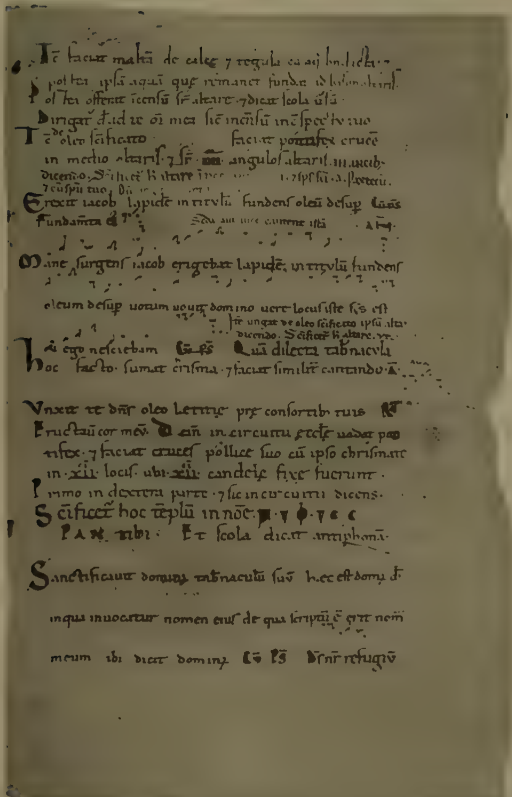
No. XXXIX. MS. (CANONICI) LITURG. 277, ff. 72v and 73.

'Lombardic' Horae, &c. Written for the nunnery of St. Mary, Zara, Dalmatia, in the late 11th cent., with added neums. (See p. lxxiv.)



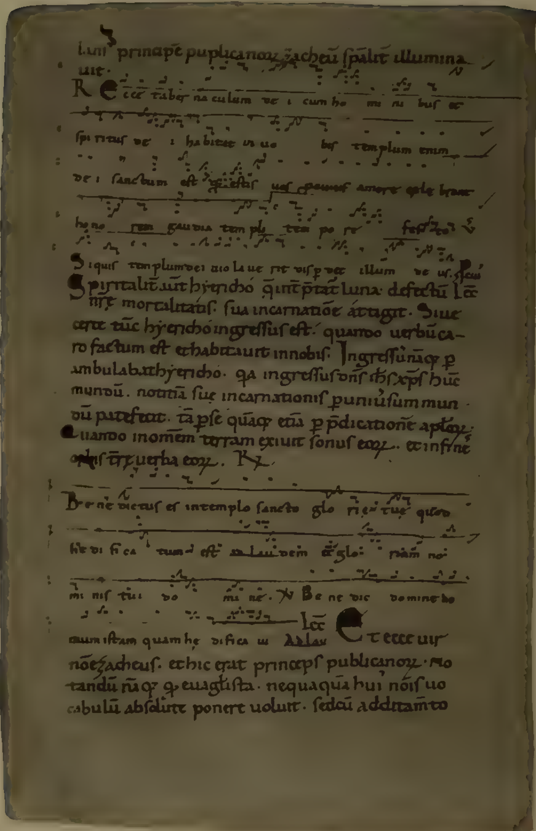
*No. XL. MS. (CANONICI) LITURG. 277, f. 150*v*.*

'Lombardic' Horae, &c. Written for the nunnery of St. Mary, Zara, Dalmatia, in the late 11th cent., with added neums. (See p. lxxiv.)



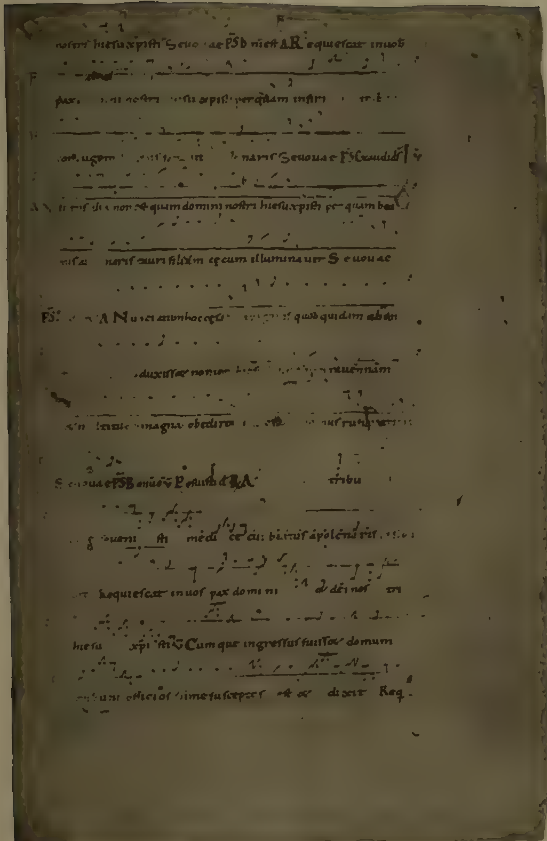
No. XLI. MS. (CANONICI) LITURG. 359, f. 4.

Arezzo Pontifical, with neums, written in the late 11th or early 12th cent. (See pp. lxxv—lxxvii.)



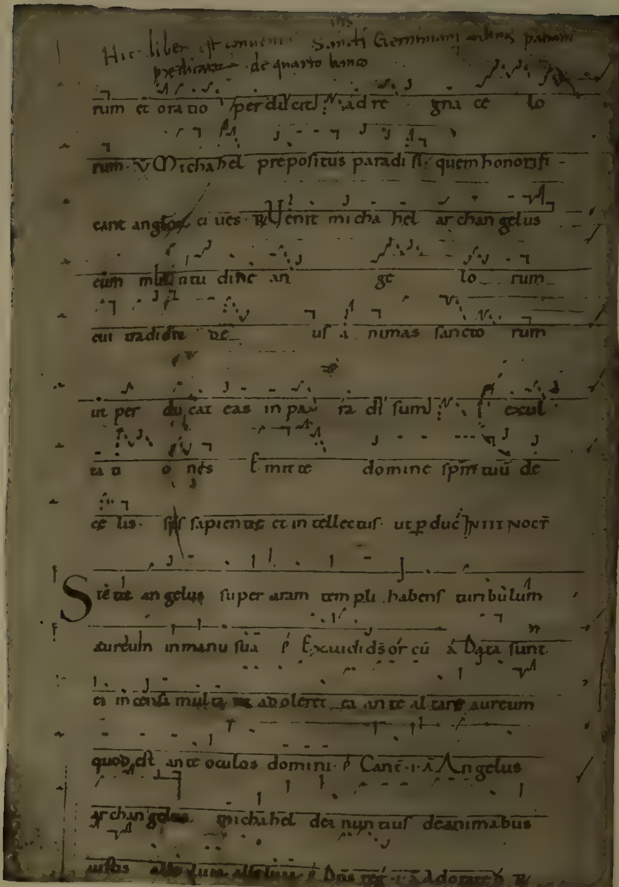
No. XLII. MS. (CANONICI) LITURG. 359, f. 10v.

Part of breviary with neums, written in the late 11th or early 12th cent., and bound into the Arezzo Pontifical. (See pp. lxxvi—lxxvii.)



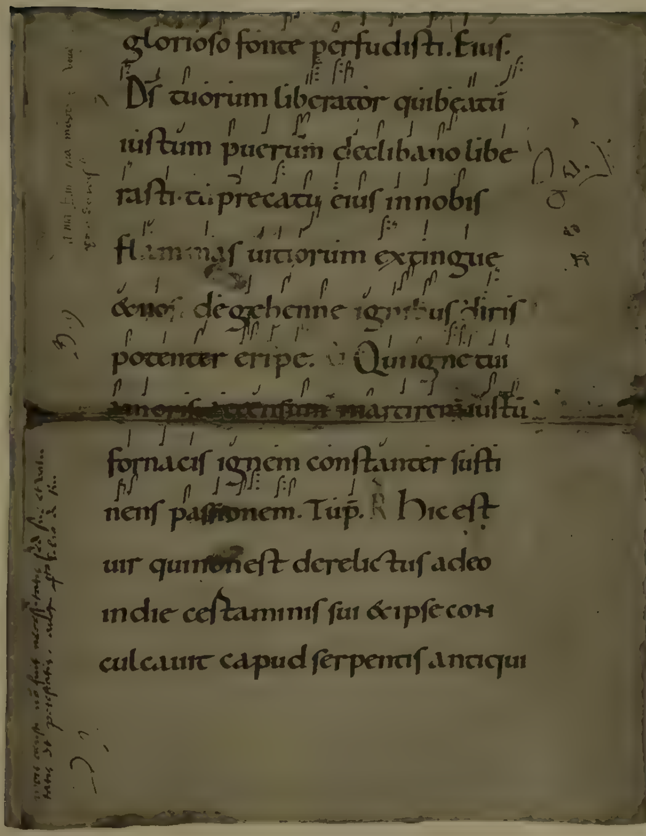
No. XLIII. MS. (CANONICI) LITURG. 358, f. 1.

Fragment of Antiphoner, written (at Venice) in the 11th cent. (See p. lxxvii.)



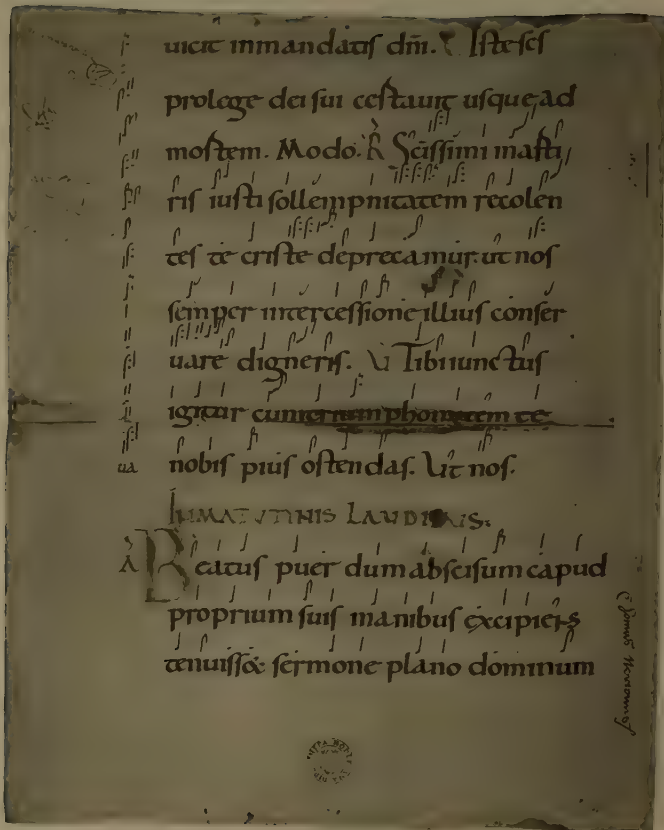
No. XLIV. MS. CANONICI MISC. 43, f. 43v.

Fragment of Antiphoner, written in Italy in the 11th or 12th cent. (See p. lxxviii.)


glorioso fonte perfudisti. Eius.
Ds tuorum liberator qui beatū
iustum puerum de clibano libe
rasti · tu precatu eius in nobis
flammas uitiorum extingue
& nos de gehenne ignibus diris
potenter eripe. Qui igne tui
[illegible] martirem iustū
fornacis ignem constanter susti
nens passionem. Tūp. R Hic est
uir qui non est derelictus adeo
in die certaminis sui & ipse con
culcauit capud serpentis antiqui

No. XLV. MS. SELDEN SUPRA 36*, f. 1.

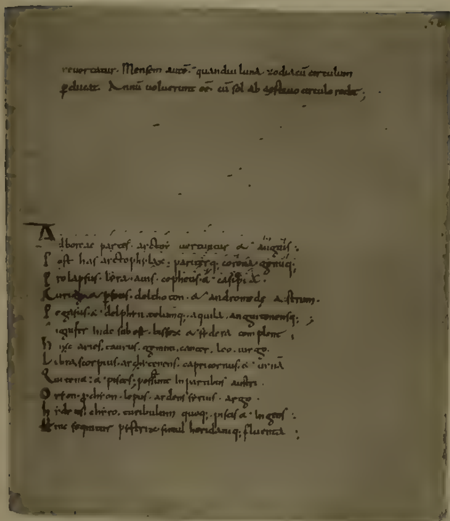
Fragment of office for St. Justus, from an Antiphoner written at (the Old Minster ?) Winchester in the late 11th or early 12th cent. (See p. xxxi, note 3.)



uicit in mandatis dñi. V. Iste scs
pro lege dei sui certauit usque ad
mortem. Modo. R. Scīssimi marty
ris iusti sollempnitatem recolen
tes te criste deprecamur: ut nos
semper intercessione illius conser
uare digneris. V. Tibi nunc tuis
igitur cunctorum [illegible] te
nobis pius ostendas. Ut nos.
IN MATUTINIS LAUDIBUS.
A. Beatus puer dum abscisum capud
proprium suis manibus excipiens
tenuisset: sermone plano dominum

No. XLVI. MS. SELDEN SUPRA 36 f. 1v.*

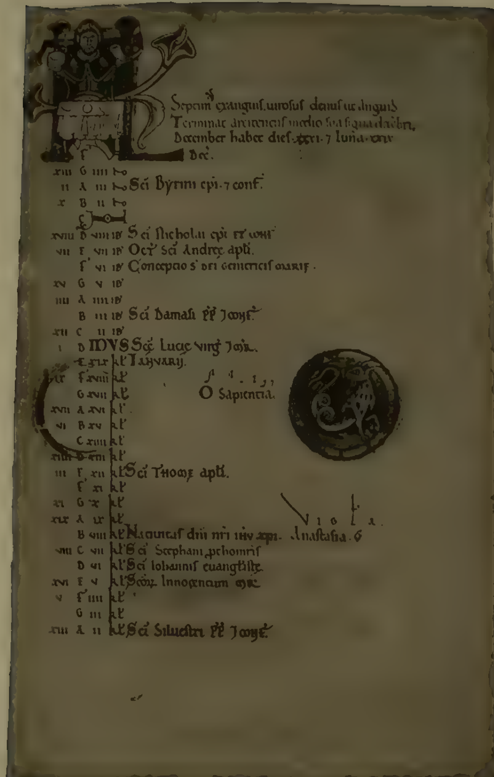
Fragment of office for St. Justus, from an Antiphoner written at (the Old Minster ?) Winchester in the late 11th or early 12th cent. (See p. xxxi, note 3.)


reuertatur. Mensem autē. quandiu luna zodiacū circulum
pcurrit. Annū uoluentem eē cū sol ab eodem circulo redit;

Ad boreae partes. arctoi uertuntur et angues.
Post has arctophylax. pariterq; corona genuq;
Prolapsus. lyra. auis. cepheus. et cassiepia.
Auriga et perseus. deltoton. et andromede astrum.
Pegasus. et delphin. telumq;. aquila. anguitenensq;.
Signifer inde subest. bis sex et sidera complens.
Hic aries. taurus. gemini. cancer. leo. uirgo.
Libra. scorpius. archytenens. capricornus. et urna.
Quae tenet et pisces; post sunt in partibus austri.
Orion. procyon. lepus. ardens sirius. argo.
Hydros. chiro. turibulum quoq;. piscis et ingens.
Quem sequitur pistrix simul eridaniq; fluenta;

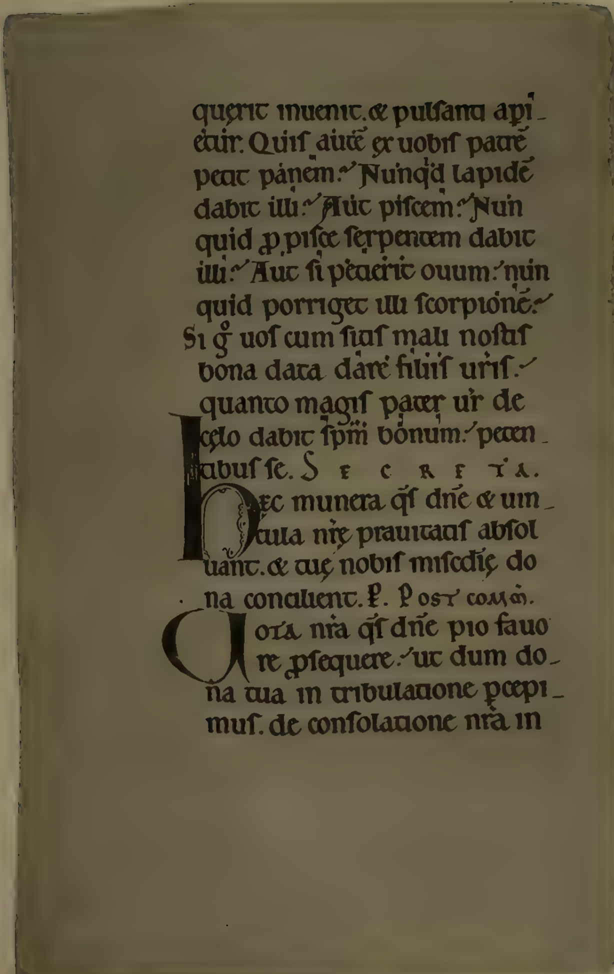
No. XLVII. MS. D'ORVILLE 145, f. 56.

Poem on the Zodiac, attributed to Priscian, with added Metz neums, from St. Peter's, Ghent. Written in the late 11th or early 12th cent. (See p. lxxix.)



No. XLVIII. MS. AUCT. D 2. 6, f. 8.

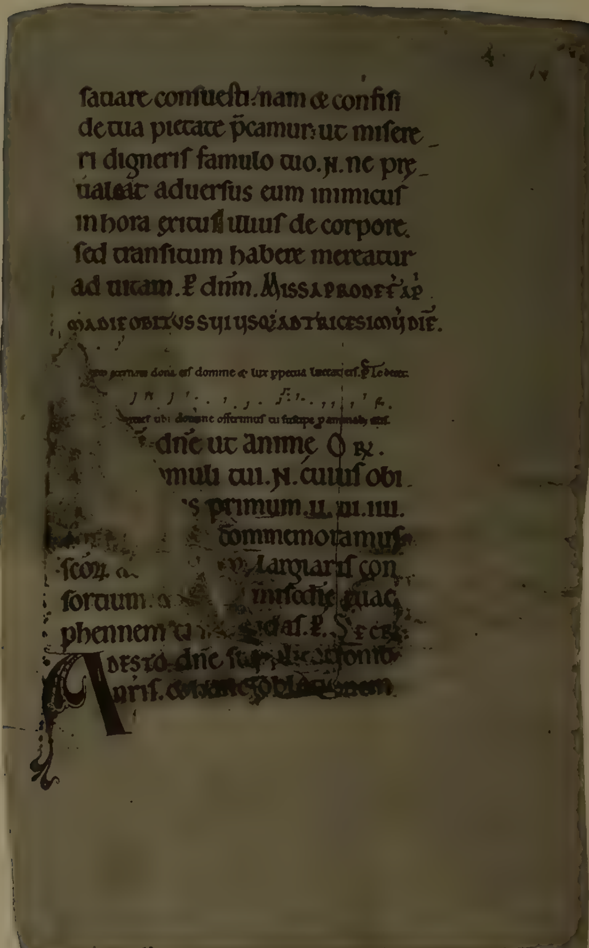
Page of Kalendar, with blue neums, written for St. Alban's or one of its cells (perhaps Wallingford Priory) in 1148 or 1149. (*See p.* lxxix.)



querit inuenit. & pulsanti aperi-
etur. Quis autem ex uobis patrem
petit panem: Numquid lapidem
dabit illi: Aut piscem: Num
quid pro pisce serpentem dabit
illi: Aut si petierit ouum: num
quid porriget illi scorpionem:
Si ergo uos cum sitis mali nostis
bona data dare filiis uestris.
quanto magis pater uester de
celo dabit spiritum bonum: peten-
tibus se. SECRETA.
Hec munera quesumus domine & uin-
cula nostre prauitatis absol-
uant. & tue nobis misericordie do-
na concilient. P. POST COMMUNIONEM.
Uota nostra quesumus domine pio fauo-
re prosequere: ut dum do-
na tua in tribulatione percepi-
mus. de consolatione nostra in

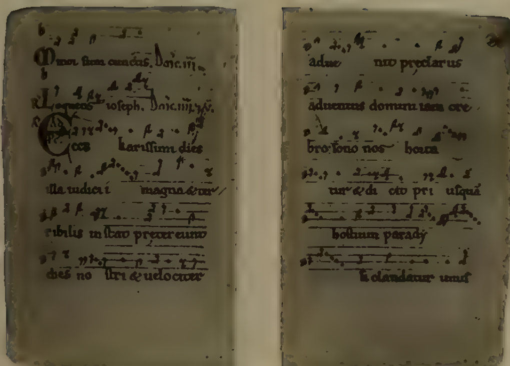
No. XLIX. MS. RAWLINSON LITURG. c. 1, f. 33v.

Sacramentary with neums, written at St. Alban's, about 1160. Spaced red neums. (See p. lxxxi.)


sauare consuesti: nam & confisi
de tua pietate p̄camur: ut misere-
ri digneris famulo tuo. N. ne pre-
ualeat aduersus eum inimicus
in hora exitus illius de corpore.
sed transitum habere mereatur
ad uitam. P dnm. MISSA PRO DEF AP
MA DIE OBITUS SUI USQ AD TRICESIMU DIE.

No. L. MS. RAWLINSON LITURG. c. 1. f. 152.

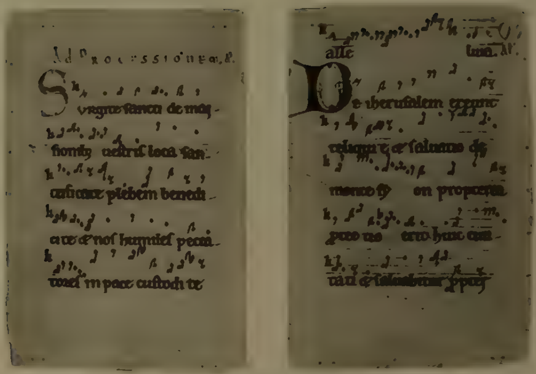
Sacramentary with neums, written at St. Alban's, about 1160. Neums on staves ruled with dry stilus. (See p. lxxxi.)



No. LI. MS. LAUD MISC. 4. ff. 25ᵛ and 26.

St. Alban's and Tynemouth Processional, with neums on red staves, written at St. Alban's after 1154 *and before* 1179. *The music written after the rubrication.*

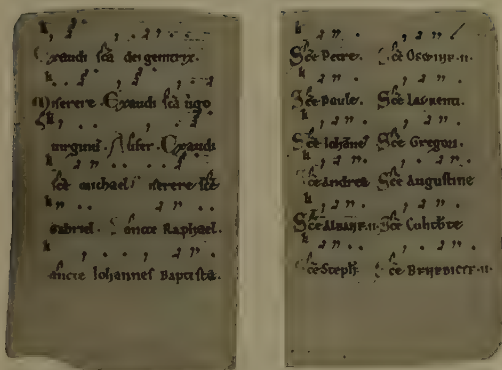
(*See p.* lxxxiii.)



No. LII MS. LAUD MISC. 4, ff. 93v and 94.
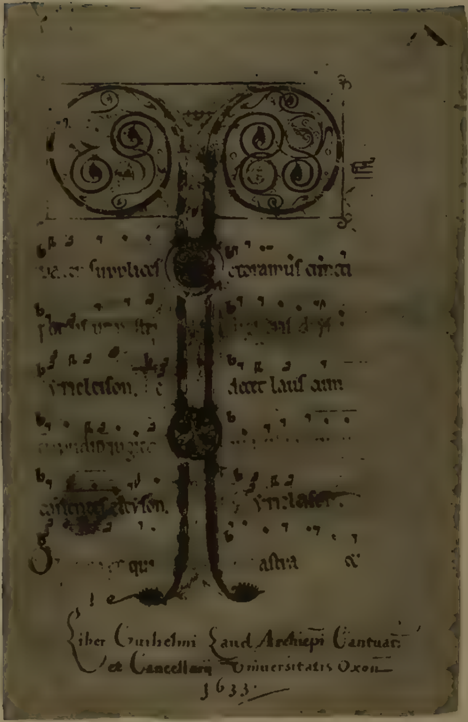
St. Alban's and Tynemouth Processional, with neums on red staves, written at St. Alban's after 1154 and before 1179 The music written before the rubrication.

(See p. lxxxiii.)



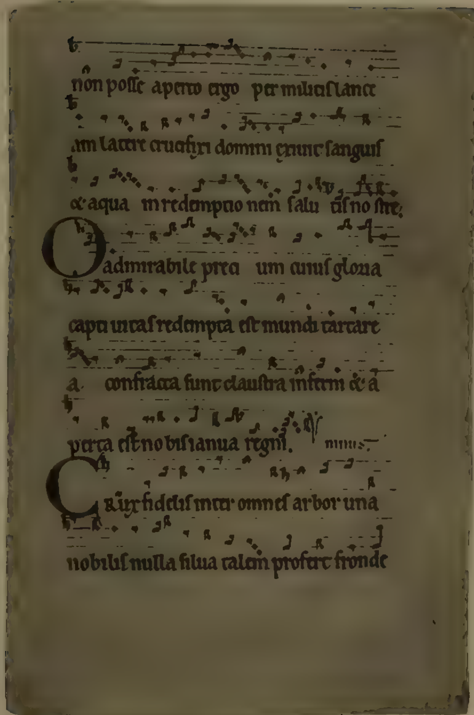
No. LIII. MS. LAUD MISC. 4, ff. 134v and 135.

St. Alban's and Tynemouth Processional, with neums on red staves, written at St. Alban's after 1154 and before 1179. Part of one of the litanies, with the names of Alban, Oswin (St. Mary's, Tynemouth), and Benedict in capitals and 'doubled'. The music written before the rubrication. (See p. lxxxiii.)



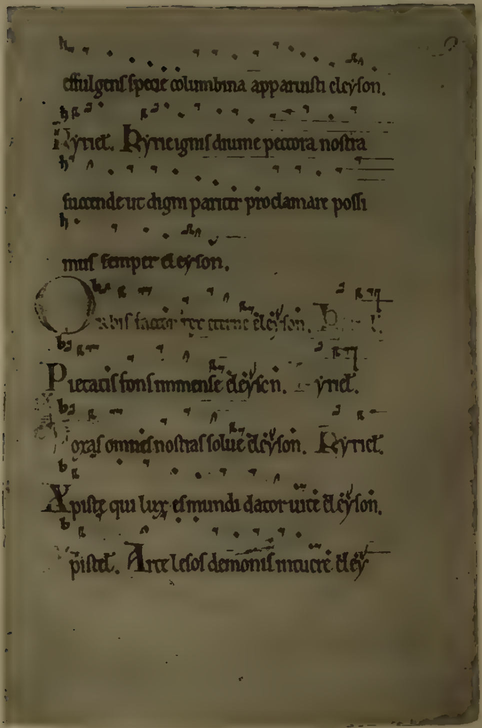
No. LIV. MS. LAUD MISC. 358. f. 1.

St. Alban's Gradual, written at St. Alban's, about 1160. *Neums on short black stave (at top) and green-and-red staves.* (*See p.* lxxxiii.)



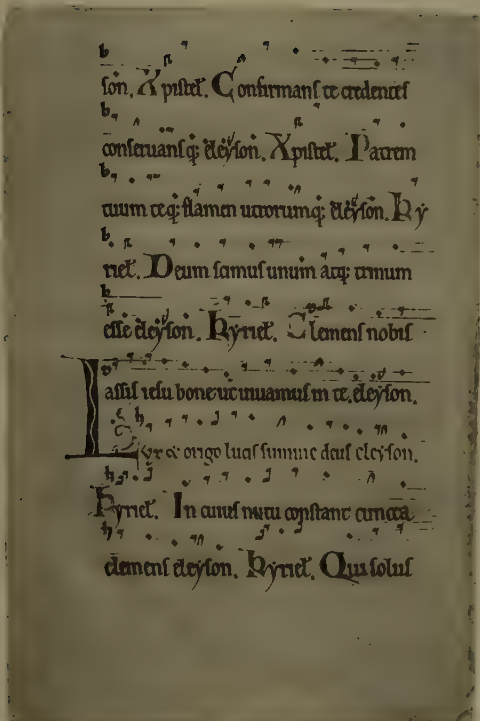
No. LV. MS. LAUD MISC. 358, f. 50.

St. Alban's Gradual, written at St. Alban's, about 1160. Neums on red staves. (See p. lxxxiii.)



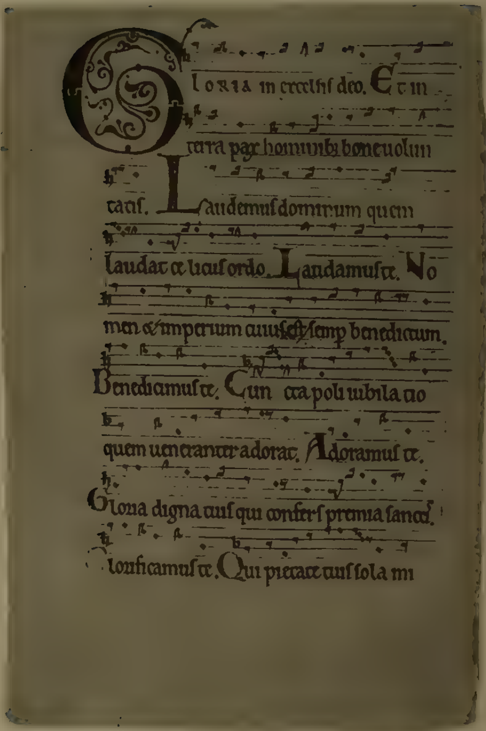
No. LVI. MS. LAUD MISC. 358, f. 9

St. Alban's Gradual, written at St. Alban's about 1160. Neums on red staves and (stave 5) red-and-blue stave. (*See p.* lxxxiii.)



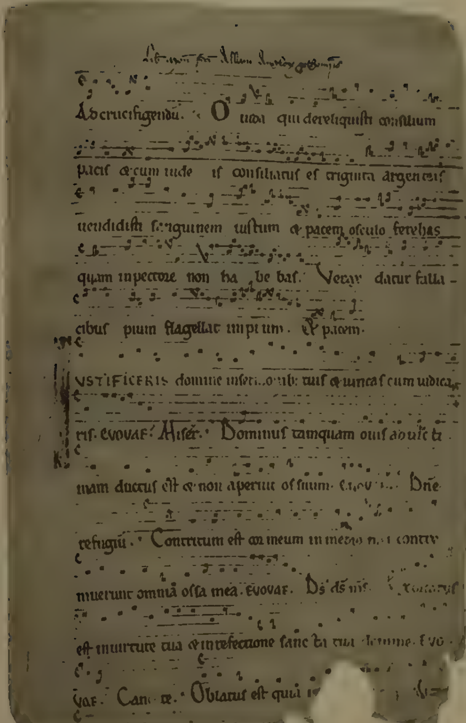
No. LVII. MS. LAUD MISC. 358, f. 9.

St. Alban's Gradual, written at St. Alban's, about 1160. *Neums on red staves and (stave 7) blue stave.* (*See p.* lxxxiii.)



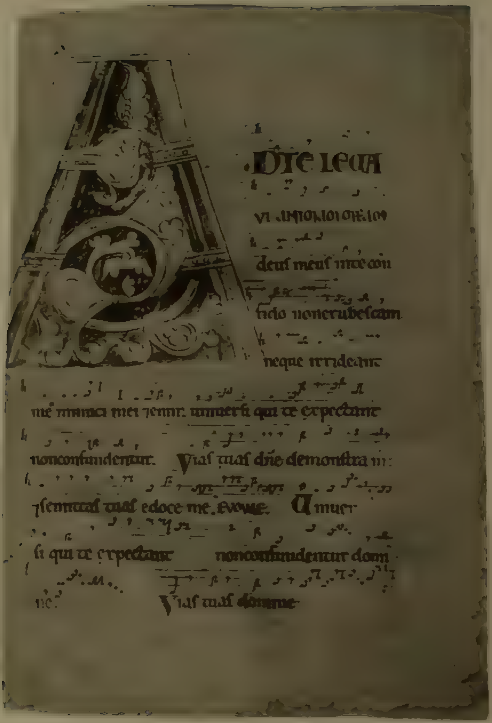
No. LVIII MS. LAUD MISC. 358, f. 15v.

St. Alban's Gradual, written at St. Alban's, about 1160. *Neums on red-green-and-blue staves.* (*See p.* lxxxiii.)



No. LIX. MS. LAUD MISC. 358, f. 98.

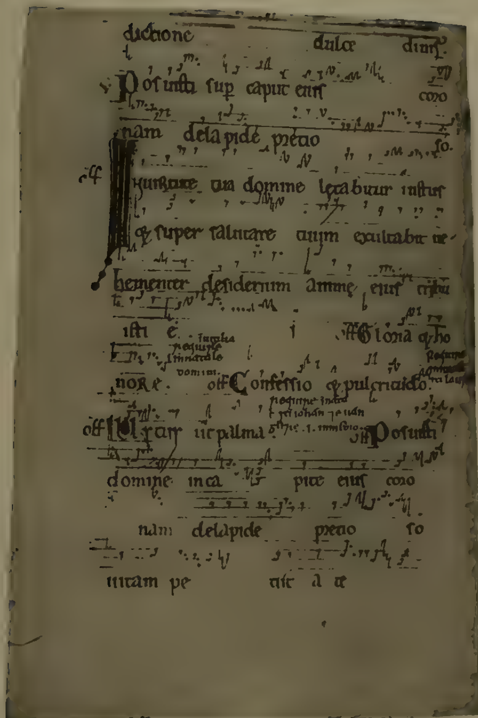
St. Alban's Antiphoner, written at St. Alban's, in the latter half of the 12th cent. Neums on red staves. (See p. lxxxiv.)



No. LX. MS. RAWLINSON C. 892, f. 1.

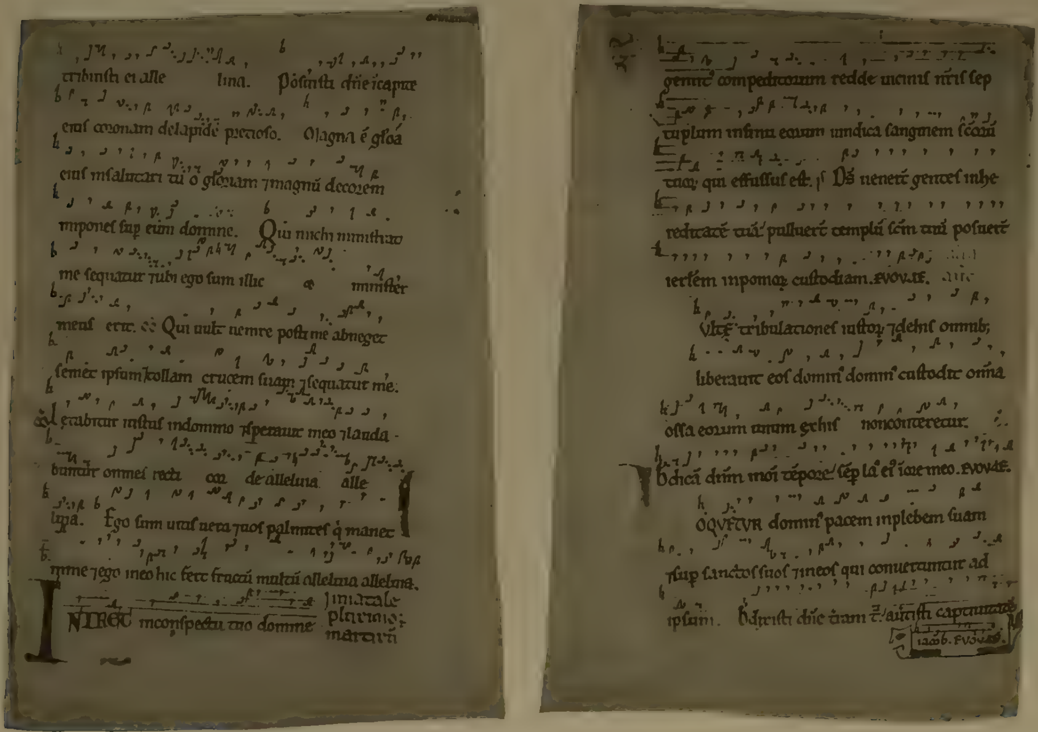
Gradual, written in Ireland in the 3rd quarter of the 12th cent., and based on a Winchester Gradual, with neums on red staves. First page of scribe A.

(See p. lxxxiv.)



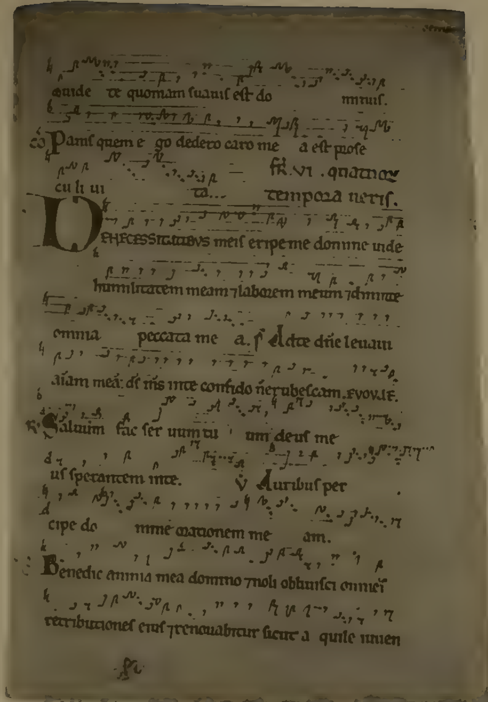
No. LXI MS. RAWLINSON C. 892, f. 131v.

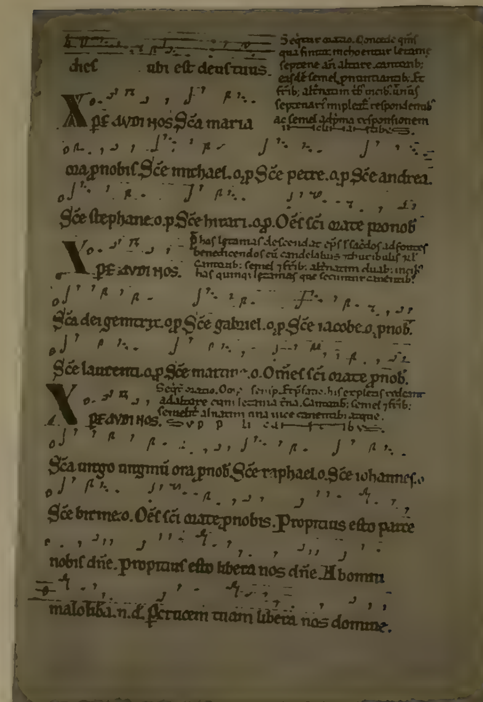
Gradual, written in Ireland in the 3rd quarter of the 12th cent., and based on a Winchester Gradual, with neums on red staves. Last page of scribe B.
(See p. lxxxiv.)



No. LXII. MS. Rawlinson C. 892, ff. 132 and 132v.

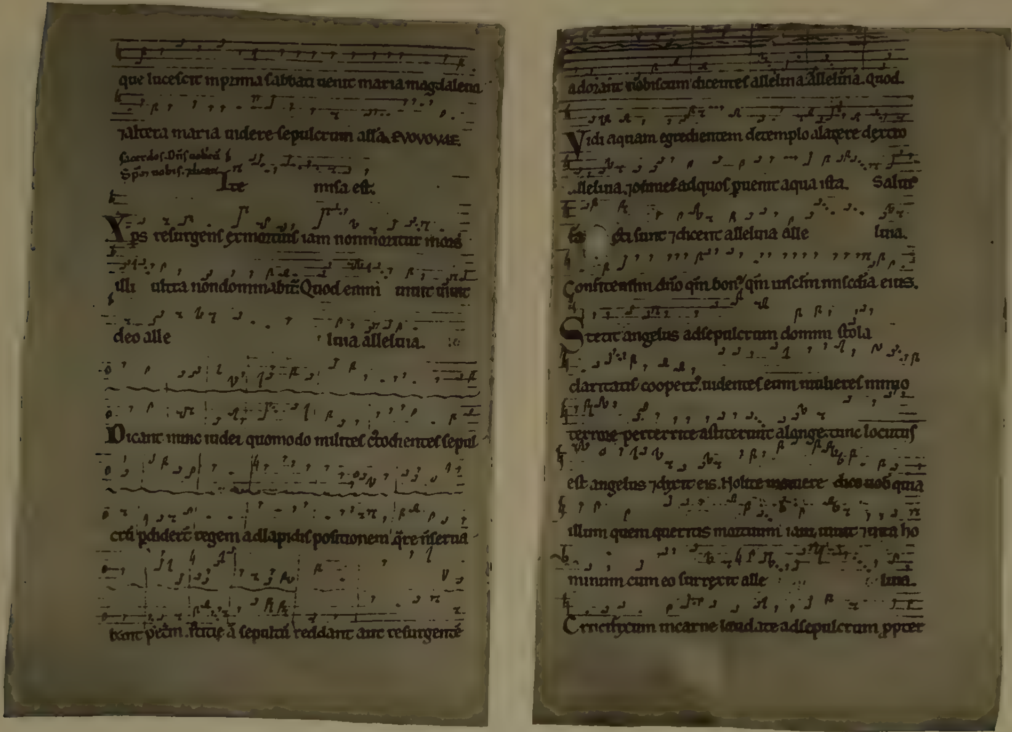
Gradual, written in Ireland in the 3rd quarter of the 12th cent., and based on a Winchester Gradual, with neums on red staves. (See p. lxxxiv.)





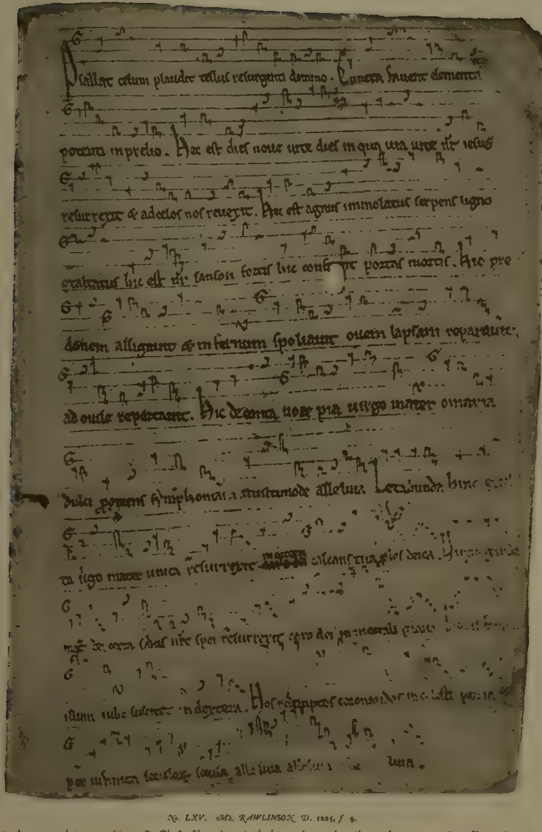
No. LXIII. MS. RAWLINSON C. 892, ff. 25 and 66.

Gradual, written in Ireland in the 3rd quarter of the 12th cent. F. 25 shows double signatures, and the very rare double b quadratum: f. 66 gives litanies, one of which includes Birinus of Winchester. (See p. lxxxiv.)



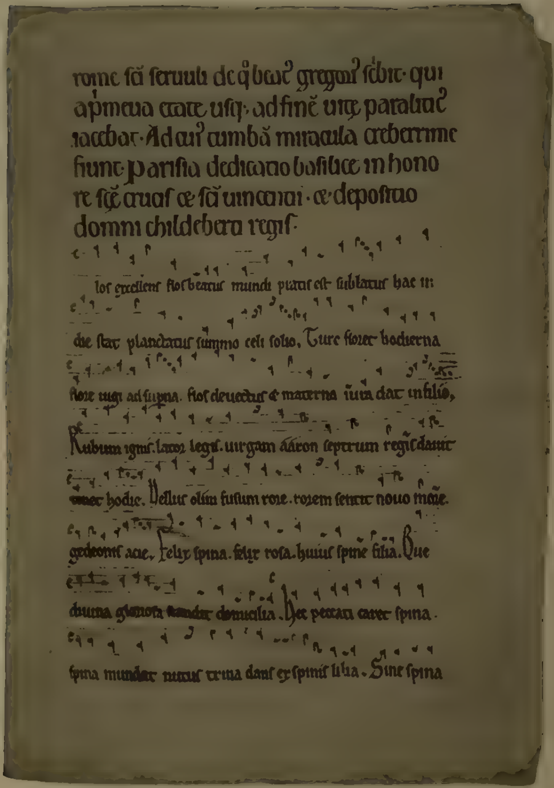
No. LXIV. MS. RAWLINSON C. 892, ff. 67v and 68.

Gradual, written in Ireland in the 3rd quarter of the 12th cent. Part of the Easter service, with four lines set for two voices. (See p. lxxxiv.)



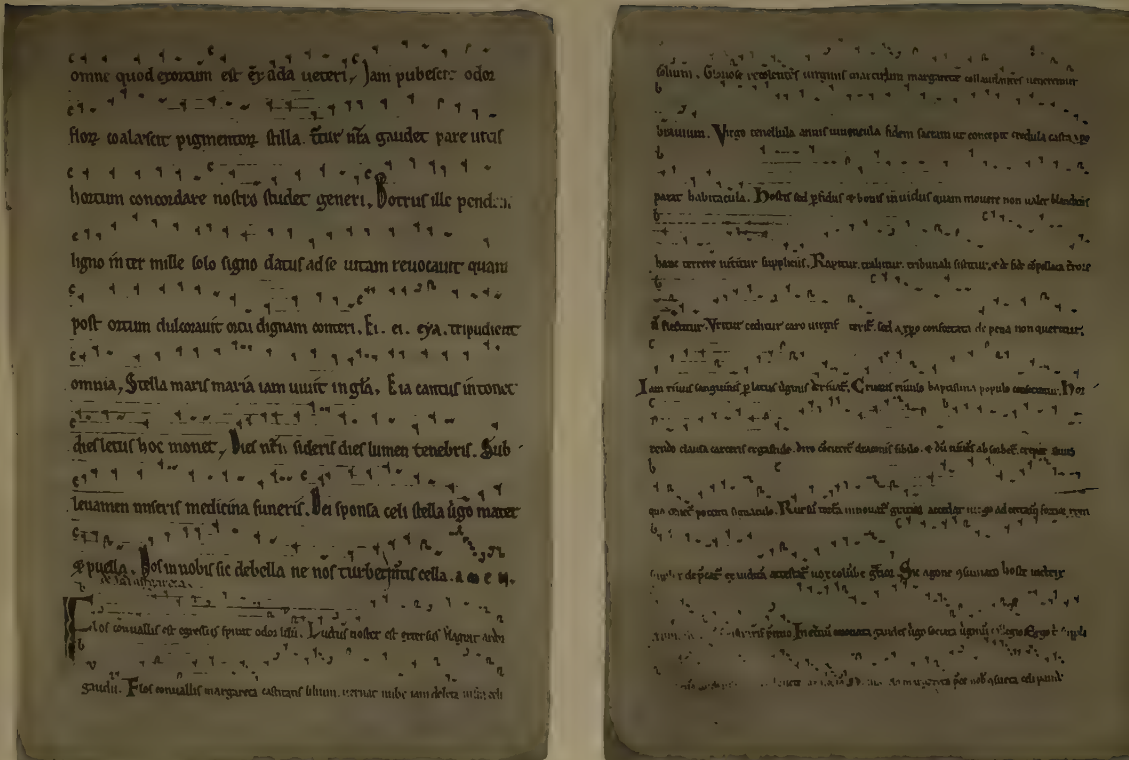
No. LXV. MS. RAWLINSON D. 1225, f. 9.

Easter hymn, on red staves, written at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, in the late 12th or early 13th cent. (1170—1215?). (*See p.* lxxxv.)



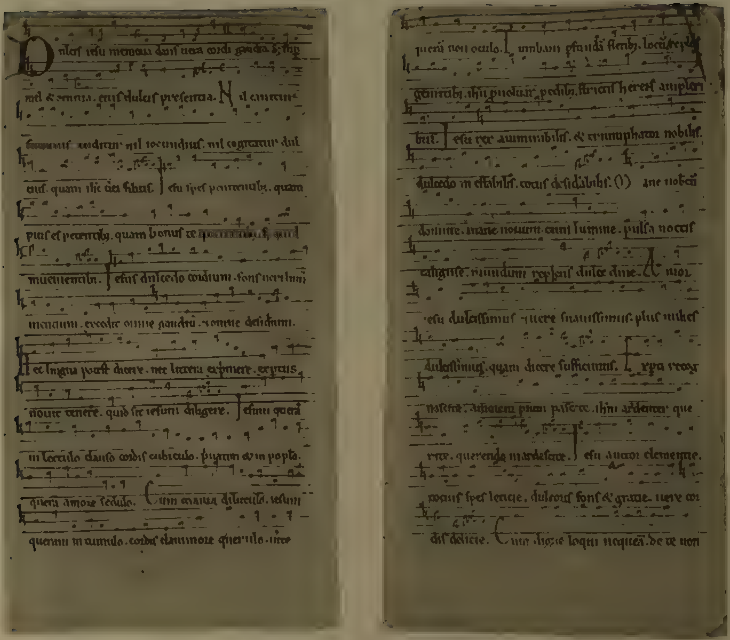
No. LXVI. MS. RAWLINSON D. 1225, f. 128.

Part of a praise of the Virgin, on red staves, written at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, in the late 12th cent. (*See p.* lxxxvi *and note on p.* xciii.)



No. LXVII. MS. RAWLINSON D. 1225, f. 129 and 129v.

Praise of St. Margaret, on red staves, written at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, in the late 12th cent. (See p. lxxxvi.)



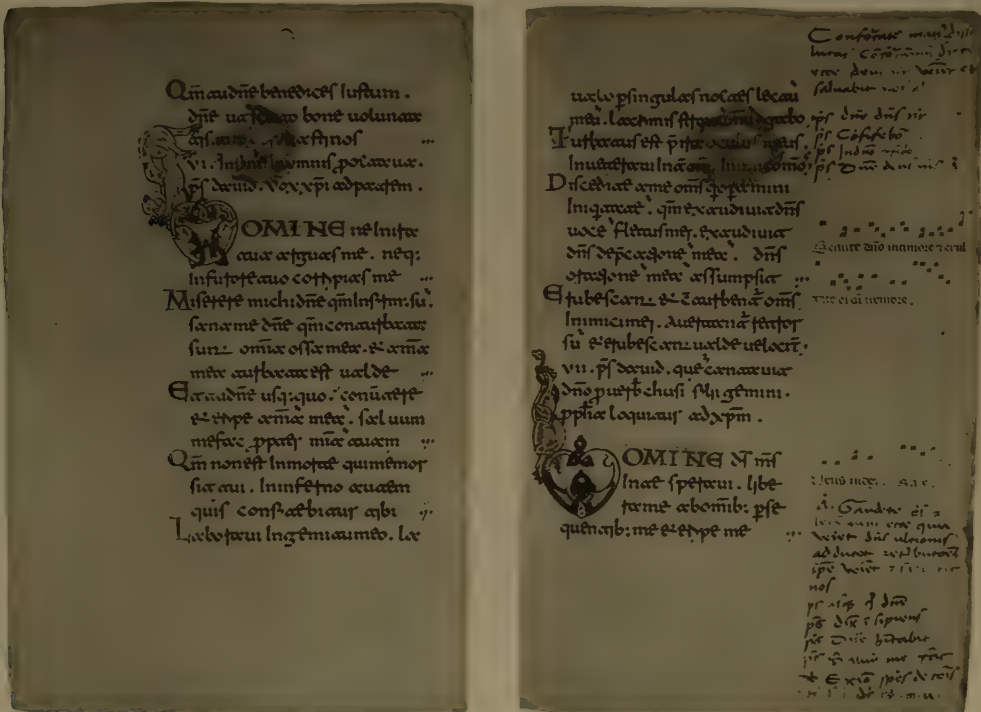
No. LXVIII. MS. LAUD MISC. 668, ff. 101 and 101v.

Part of hymn, with red staves, written in North-England (?) in the late 12th cent. (after 1170). (*See p.* lxxxvi.)



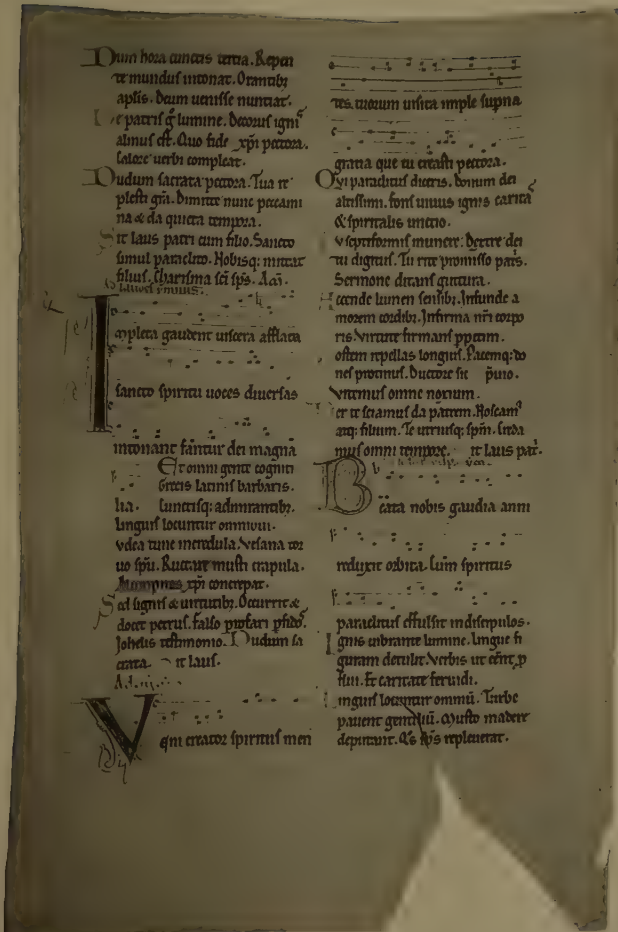
No. LXIX. MS. LAT. LITURG. e. 6, ff. 11 and 12.

Fragments of antiphons, with brown staves, written in France or England in the late 12th cent. (See p. lxxxvi.)



No. LXX MS. DOUCE 127, ff. 5v and 6.

'Lombardic' Psalter of the late 11th or early 12th cent., written (at Monte Cassino?) for a church at or near Sora (perhaps that of St. Restituta, near Morrea): with cues of antiphons, on brown staves, added probably in the late 13th cent. (See p. lxxxvi.)


Dum hora cunctis tercia. Repente mundus intonat. Orantibus apostolis. deum uenisse nunciat.
De patris qui lumine. decorus igni almus est. Quo fide xpisti pectora. calore uerbi compleat.
Dudum sacrata pectora. Tua repleasti gratia. dimitte nunc peccamina et da quieta tempora.
Sit laus patri cum filio. Sancto simul paraclito. Nobisque mittat filius. charisma sancti spiritus. Amen.
Impleta gaudent uiscera afflata sancto spiritu uoces diuersas intonant fantur dei magnalia.
Ex omni gente cogniti Grecis latinis barbaris. Cunctisque admirantibus. Linguis locuntur omnium.
Iudea tunc incredula. Vesana toruo spiritu. Ructare musti crapula. Alumpnos xpisti concrepat.
Sed signis et uirtutibus. Occurrit et docet petrus. falso profari perfidos. Johelis testimonio. Dudum sacrata. Sit laus.
Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum uisita imple superna gratia que tu creasti pectora.
Qui paraclitus diceris. donum dei altissimi. fons uiuus ignis caritas et spiritalis unctio.
Tu septiformis munere: dextre dei tu digitus. Tu rite promisso patris. Sermone ditans guttura.
Accende lumen sensibus. Infunde amorem cordibus. Infirma nostri corporis. Virtute firmans perpetim.
Hostem repellas longius. Pacemque dones protinus. Ductore sic te preuio. Vitemus omne noxium.
Per te sciamus da patrem. Noscamus atque filium. Te utriusque spiritum. Credamus omni tempore. Sit laus patri.
Beata nobis gaudia anni reduxit orbita. Cum spiritus paraclitus effulsit in discipulos.
Igneis uibrante lumine. Lingue figuram detulit. Verbis ut essent proflui. Et caritate feruidi.
Linguis loquuntur omnium. Turbe pauent gentilium. Musto madere deputant. Quos spiritus repleuerat.

No LXXI. MS. LAUD LAT. 95, f. 143v.

Pentecostal hymns, with red staves, written for Ely, in the 13th cent. (See p. lxxxvii.)

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